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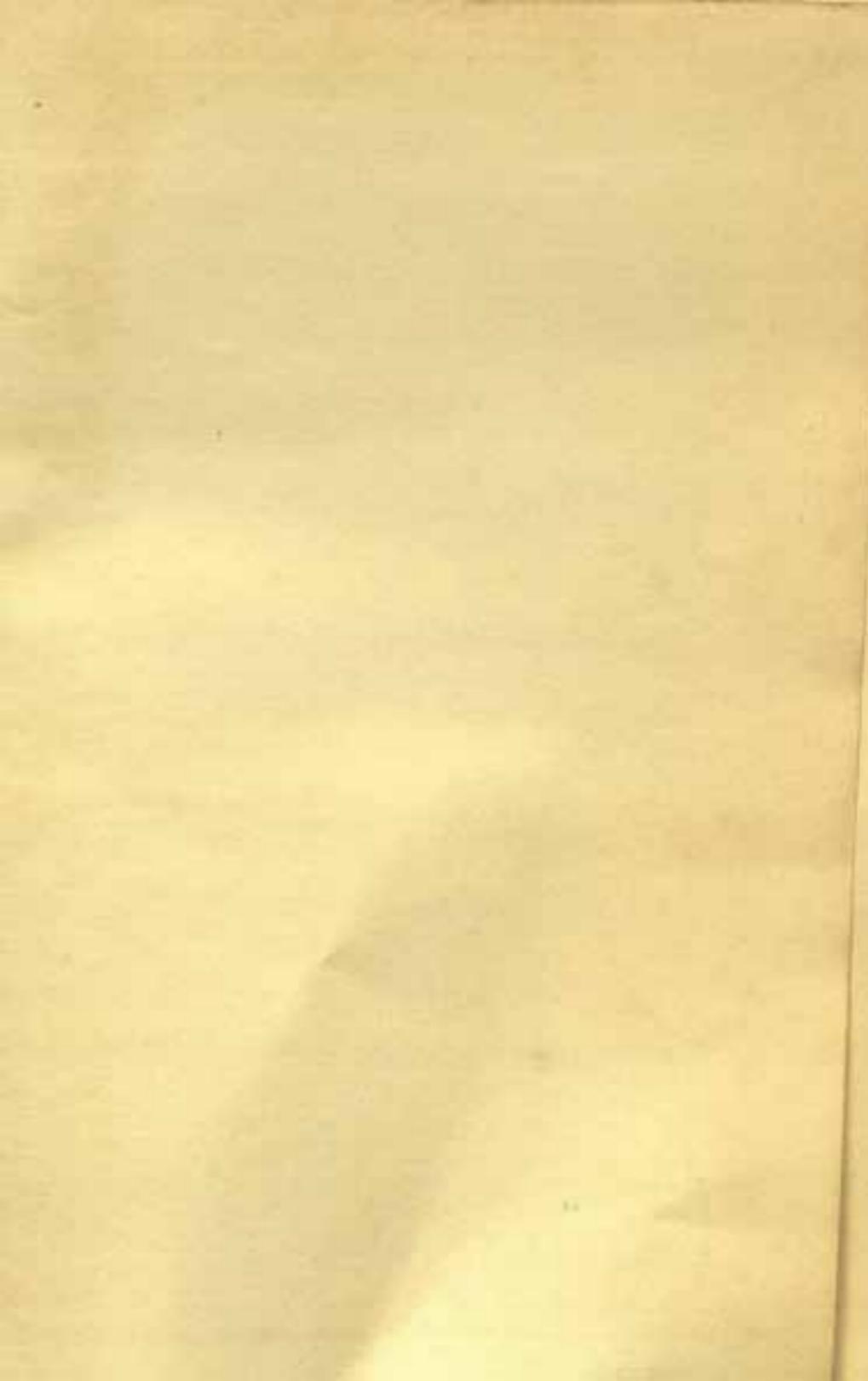
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HERODOTUS

II



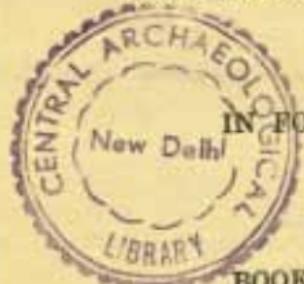
# HERODOTUS

v.J. 2

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD



IN FOUR VOLUMES

II

BOOKS III AND IV

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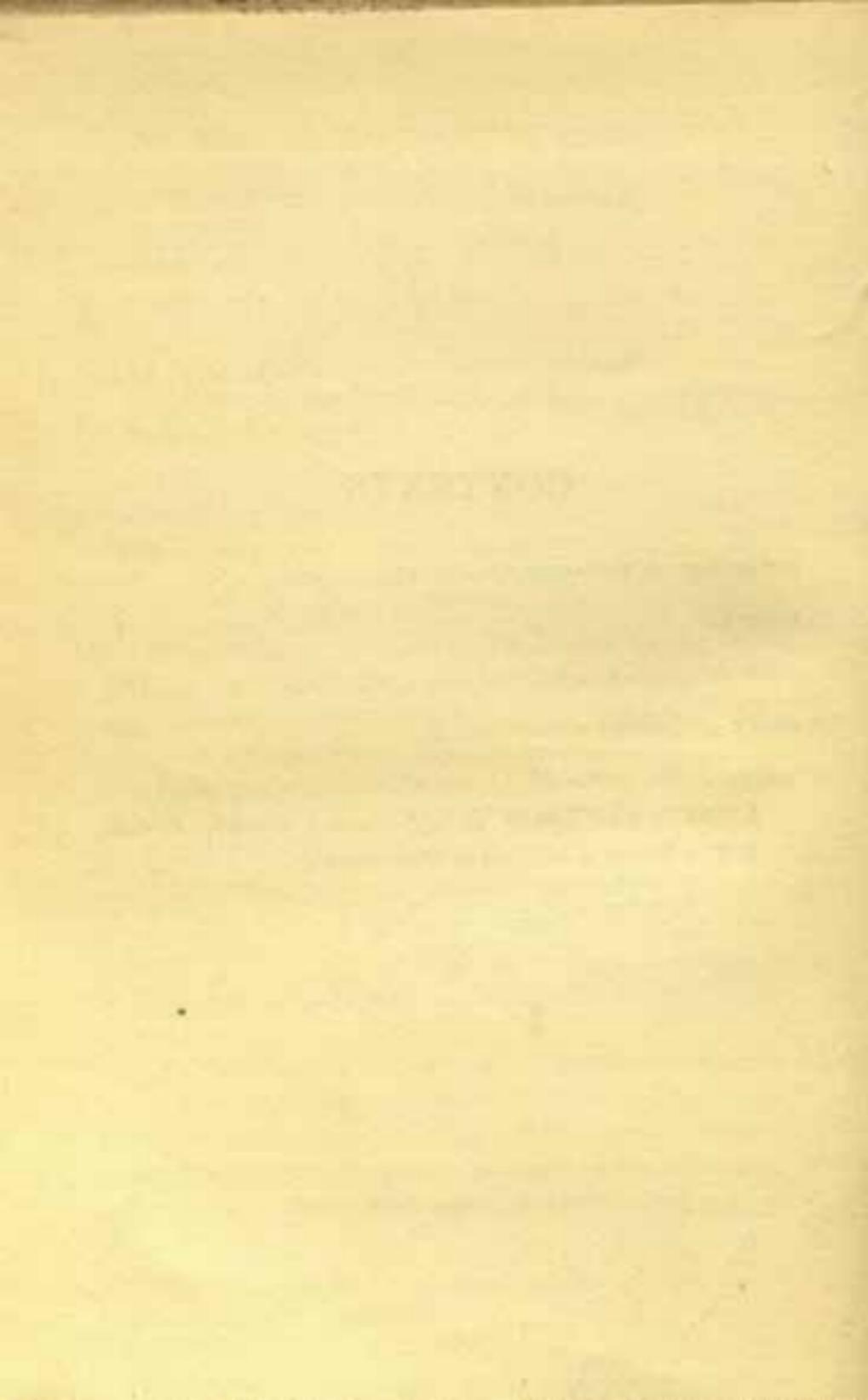
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## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

HERODOTUS' narrative in the Third Book of his history is extremely discursive and episodic. It may be briefly summarised as follows:—

Chapters 1 to 38 deal in the main with Cambyses. They relate the Persian invasion and conquest of Egypt, Cambyses' abortive expedition against the Ethiopians, and the sacrilegious and cruel acts of the last part of his reign. The section 38-60 begins with an account of Polycrates of Samos, and his relations with Amasis of Egypt, and continues with a narrative of Polycrates' war against his banished subjects. The fact that these latter were aided not only by Spartans but by Corinthians serves to introduce the story of the domestic feuds of Periander, despot of Corinth. Chapter 61 resumes the story of Cambyses; the Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, Cambyses' death, the counterplot against and ultimate overthrow of the pseudo-Smerdis and his brother by seven Persian conspirators, and the accession of Darius—all this is narrated with much

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

picturesque and dramatic detail in twenty-eight chapters (61–88). Then follows a list of Darius' tributary provinces (88–97), supplemented by various unconnected details relating to Arabia and India (98–117). The next thirty-two chapters (118–149) narrate various events in the early part of Darius' reign: the fate of Polycrates of Samos; the insolence and death of his murderer Oroetes; how Democedes, a Samian physician, rose to power at the Persian court and was sent with a Persian commission to reconnoitre Greek coasts; how Polycrates' brother Syloson regained with Persian help the sovereignty of Samos. Lastly, chapters 150–160 describe the revolt and second capture of Babylon.

Book IV begins with the intention of describing Darius' invasion of Scythia, and the subject of more than two-thirds of the book is Scythian geography and history. Chapters 1–15 deal with the legendary origin of the Scythians; 16–31, with the population of the country and the climate of the far north; this leads to a disquisition on the Hyperboreans and their alleged commerce with the Aegean (32–36), and (37–45) a parenthetic section, showing the relation to each other of Europe, Asia, and Libya. The story of a circumnavigation of Libya forms part of this section. Chapters 46–58 enumerate the rivers of Scythia, and 59–82 describe its manners and customs.

Darius' passage of the Hellespont and the Danube is

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narrated in chapters 83–98. Chapters 99–117 are once more parenthetic, describing first the general outline of Scythia, and next giving some details as to neighbouring tribes, with the story of the Amazons. From 118 to 144 Herodotus professes to relate the movements of the Persian and Scythian armies, till Darius returns to the Danube and thence to Asia again.

The Libyan part of the book begins at 145. Twenty-three chapters (145–167) give the history of Cyrene, its colonisation from Greece and the fortunes of its rulers till the time of Darius, when it was brought into contact with Persia by the appeal of its exiled queen Pheretime to the Persian governor of Egypt, who sent an army to recover Cyrene for her. The thirty-two following chapters (168–199) are a detailed description of Libya: 168–180, the Libyan seaboard from Egypt to the Tritonian lake; 181–190, the sandy ridge inland stretching (according to Herodotus) from Thebes in Egypt to the Atlas; 191–199, in the main, Libya west of the "Tritonian lake." At chapter 200 the story of Pheretime is resumed and the capture of Barce described. The book ends with the death of Pheretime and the disastrous return to Egypt of her Persian allies.

The above brief abstract shows that Book IV, at least, is full of geography and ethnology. It is, I believe, generally held that Herodotus himself

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

visited the Cyrenaica and the northern coasts of the Black Sea, where the Greek commercial centre was the "port of the Borysthenites," later called Olbia; but there is no real evidence for or against such visits. The point is not very important. If he did not actually go to Cyrene or Olbia he must at least have had opportunities of conversing with Greeks resident in those places. These, the only informants whose language he could understand, no doubt supplied him with more or less veracious descriptions of the "hinterlands" of their cities; and possibly there may have been some documentary evidence—records left by former travellers. Whatever Herodotus' authorities—and they must have been highly miscellaneous—they take him farther and farther afield, to the extreme limits of knowledge or report.

As Herodotus in description or speculation approaches what he supposes to be the farthest confines of north and south, it is natural that he should also place on record his conception of the geography of the world—a matter in which he professes himself to be in advance of the ideas current in his time. There were already, it would appear, maps in those days. According to Herodotus, they divided the world into three equal parts—Europe, Asia, Libya; the whole surrounded by the "Ocean," which was still apparently imagined, as in Homer, to be a "river" into which ships could sail from the sea known to the Greeks. Possibly, as has been

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

suggested by moderns, this idea of an encircling river may have originated in the fact that to north, south, and east great rivers ran in the farthest lands known to Greeks: the Nile in the south (and if it could be made to run partly from west to east, so much the better for the belief that it was a boundary), the Danube in the north, the Euphrates in the east; in the west, of course, the untravelled waters outside the "Pillars of Hercules" fitted into the scheme. But whether the legend of an encircling stream had a rational basis or not, Herodotus will have none of it. The Greeks, he says, believe the world to be surrounded by the Ocean; but they cannot prove it. The thing, to him, is ridiculous; as is also the neat tripartite division of the world into three continents of equal extent. His own scheme is different. Taking the highlands of Persia as a base, he makes Asia a peninsula stretching westward, and Libya another great peninsula south-westward; northward and alongside of the two is the vast tract called Europe. This latter, in his view, is beyond comparison bigger than either Asia or Libya; its length from east to west is at least equal to the length of the other two together; and while there are at least traditions of the circumnavigation of Libya, and some knowledge of seas to the south and east of Asia, Europe stretches to the north in tracts of illimitable distance, the very absence of any tale of a northern boundary tending in itself to prove

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

enormous extent. The lands north and south of the Mediterranean have each its great river; and Herodotus has already in the Second Book endeavoured to show that there is a kind of correspondence between the Nile and the Danube. He, too, like the geographers with whom he disagrees, is obsessed, in the absence of knowledge, by a desire for symmetry. The Nile, he is convinced, flows for a long way across the country of the Ethiopians from west to east before it makes a bend to the north and flows thus through Egypt. So the Danube, too, rises in the far west of Europe, in the country of "Pyrene"; and as the Nile eventually turns and flows northward, so the Danube, after running for a long way eastward, makes an abrupt turn southward to flow into the Black Sea. Thus the Mediterranean countries, southern Europe and northern Africa, are made to lie within what the two rivers—*their mouths being regarded as roughly "opposite"* to each other, in the same longitude—make into a sort of interrupted parallelogram.

Such is the scheme of the world with which Herodotus incidentally presents us. But his real concern in the Fourth Book is with the geography of Libya and Scythia—northern Africa and southern Russia; in both cases the description is germane to his narrative, its motive being, in each, a Persian expedition into the country.

Critics of the *Odyssey* have sometimes been at

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

pains to distinguish its "inner" from its "outer" geography—the inner true and real, the outer a world of mere invention and fairy tale. There is no such distinction really; Greeks do not invent fairy tales; there are simply varying degrees of certitude. Greek geographical knowledge contemporaneous with the composition of the *Odyssey* being presumably confined within very narrow limits, the frontiers of the known are soon passed, and the poet launches out into a realm not of invention, but of reality dimly and imperfectly apprehended—a world of hearsay and travellers' tales, no doubt adorned in the Homeric poem with the colours of poetry. Homer is giving the best that he knows of current information—not greatly troubled in his notices of remote countries by inconsistencies, as when he describes Egypt once as a four or five days' sail from Crete, yet again as a country so distant that even a bird will take more than a year to reach it. Herodotus' method is as human and natural as Homer's. Starting, of course, from a very much wider extent of geographical knowledge, he passes from what he has seen to what he knows at first hand from Cyrenaean or Borysthenite evidence; thence into more distant regions, about which his informants have been told; and so on, the accuracy of his statements obviously diminishing (and not guaranteed by himself) as the distance increases, till at last in farthest north—farthest, that is, with the

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

possible exception of "Hyperboreans," about whom nobody knows anything—he is in the country of the griffins who guard gold and pursue the one-eyed Arimaspians; and in the south, among the men who have no heads, and whose eyes are in their breasts.

It happens sometimes that the stories which have reached Herodotus from very distant lands and seas, and which he duly reports without necessarily stating his belief in them, do in truth rest on a basis of actual fact. Thus one of the strongest arguments for the truth of the story of a circumnavigation of Libya is the detail, mentioned but not believed by Herodotus, that the sailors, when sailing west at the extreme limit of their voyage, saw the sun on their right hand. Thus also the story of Hyperborean communication with Delos is entirely in harmony with ascertained fact. Whatever be the meaning of "Hyperborean," a term much discussed by the learned (Herodotus certainly understands the name to mean "living beyond the north wind"), the people so named must be located in northern Europe; and the Delos story, however imaginative in its details, does at least illustrate the known existence of trade routes linking the northern parts of our continent with the Aegean. To such an extent Herodotus' tales of the uttermost parts of the earth are informative. But with such exceptions, as one would naturally expect, it is true that as a

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

general rule the farther from home Herodotus is the farther also he is from reality.

It follows from this that in proportion as Herodotus' narrative of events is distant from the Greek world and his possible sources of information, so much the more is it full, for us, of geographical difficulties. It is probable that, as he tells us, "Scythians" did at some time or other invade the Black Sea coasts and dispossess an earlier population of "Cimmerians," whom, perhaps, they pursued into Asia. The bare fact may be so; but Herodotus' description of the way in which it happened cannot be reconciled with the truths of geography. The whole story is confused; the Cimmerians could not have fled along the coast of the Black Sea, as stated by Herodotus; it would, apparently, have been a physical impossibility. In such cases the severer school of critics were sometimes tempted to dismiss an entire narrative as a parcel of lies. More charitable, moderns sometimes do their best to bring the historian's detailed story into some sort of harmony with the map, by emendation of the text or otherwise. But if the former method was unjust, the latter is wasted labour. There is surely but one conclusion to draw, and a very obvious one: that Herodotus was misinformed as to geographical conditions. Ignorance lies at the root of the matter. Herodotus had not the geographical equipment for describing the movements of tribes on the north

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coast of the Black Sea, any more than our best authorities of sixty years ago had for describing tribal wanderings in Central Africa.

Even worse difficulties would confront the enterprising critic who should attempt to deal with Darius' marchings and counter-marchings in Scythia as matter for serious investigation. Herodotus' story is, with regard to its details of time, plainly incredible; a great army could not conceivably have covered anything like the alleged distance in the alleged time. It must, apparently, be confessed that there are moments when the Father of History is *supra geographiam*—guilty of disregarding it when he did, as appears from other parts of the Fourth Book, know something of Scythian distances. The disregard may be explained, if not excused. Herodotus is seldom proof against the attractions of a Moral Tale. Given an unwieldy army of invaders, *tis consili expes*, and those invaders the natural enemies of Hellas,—and given also the known evasive tactics of Scythian warfare,—there was obviously a strong temptation to make a picturesque narrative, in which overweening power should be tricked, baffled, and eventually saved only by a hair's breadth from utter destruction at a supremely dramatic moment. So strong, we may suppose, was the temptation that Herodotus put from him considerations of time and distance, in the probably not unjustified expectation that his Greek readers or

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

hearers would not trouble themselves much about such details. In short, it must be confessed that Herodotus' reputation as a serious historian must rest on other foundations than his account of Darius Scythian campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Herodotus' list of the tribute-paying divisions of the Persian Empire is not a geographical document. Obviously it is drawn from some such source as the three extant inscriptions (at Behistun, Persepolis, and Naksh-i-Rustam) in which Darius enumerated the constituent parts of his empire; but it differs from these in that the numerical order of the units is not determined by their local position. It has indeed geographical importance in so far as the grouping of tribes for purposes of taxation naturally implies their local vicinity; but it is in no sense a description of the various units under Darius' rule; nor can we even infer that these districts and groups of districts are in all cases separate "satrapies" or governorships. That, apparently, is precluded by the occasional association of countries which could not have formed a single governorship, for instance, the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, and Arii, who compose the sixteenth district; while the Bactrians and Sacae, belonging here to separate tax-paying

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the various problems suggested by Book IV the reader is referred to the long and elaborate Introduction to Dr. Macan's edition of Herodotus, Books IV, V, VI.

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

units, appear in other passages in Herodotus as subjects of a single satrapy. What the historian gives us in Book III is simply a statistical list of Darius' revenues and the sources from which they were drawn.

THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS  
BOOK III

## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

### Γ

1. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ  
Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἥρχε  
καὶ Ἐλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἵτινην  
τοιήνδε, πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κῆρυκα  
αἴτεε Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα, αἴτεε δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς  
Αἴγυπτίου, δις μεμφόμενος Ἀμασιν ἐπρηξε ταῦτα  
ὅτι μιν ἔξι ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἵητρῶν ἀπο-  
σπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἐκδοτον  
ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κύρος πέμψας παρὰ  
Ἀμασιν αἴτεε ἵητρὸν ὄφθαλμῶν δις εἰη ἄριστος  
τῶν ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ  
Αἴγυπτιος ἐνῆγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἴτεειν  
τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἡ δοὺς  
ἀνιώτο ἡ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ  
Ἀμασις τῇ δυνάμι τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ  
ἀρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι·  
εὖ γάρ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὡς γυναικά μιν ἔμελλε  
Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἀλλ' ὡς παλλακήν. ταῦτα δὴ  
ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προ-  
τέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ  
εὐειδῆς μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὕνομα δέ οἱ

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK III

1. It was against this Amasis that Cambyses led an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them.<sup>1</sup> This was his reason: Cambyses sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; and this he did by the counsel of a certain Egyptian, who devised it by reason of a grudge that he bore against Amasis, because when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt the king had chosen this man out of all the Egyptian physicians and sent him perforce to Persia away from his wife and children. With this grudge in mind he moved Cambyses by his counsel to ask Amasis for his daughter, that Amasis might be grieved if he gave her, or Cambyses' enemy if he refused her. So Amasis was sorely afraid of the power of Persia, and could neither give his daughter nor deny her; for he knew well that Cambyses would make her not his queen but his mistress. Reasoning thus he bethought him of a very tall and fair damsel called Nitetis, daughter of the former king Apries, and all that was left of that

<sup>1</sup> The received date is 525 B.C.

## HERODOTUS

ἥν Νέτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παιδὰ ὁ Ἀμασίς κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτὶ τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὃς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρόθεν ὄνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς “Ω βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις. ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκῆσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ Ἀπρίεω, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἔόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ' Αἴγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε.” τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὗτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἥγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

2. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Λίγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεα, φάμενοι μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι. Κύρου γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὄρθως λέγουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέ-  
αται καὶ Αἴγυπτοι) διτὶ πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γυνησίου παρεόντος, αὗτις δὲ διτὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἥν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτίης. ἀλλὰ παρατράπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιεύμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενέες εἶναι.

3. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡδε ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ διτὶ λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναικας, ὡς εἰδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεώτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἔχρατο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάῃ ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε. “Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παιδῶν μητέρα

family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, "King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew." It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

2. This is the Persian story. But the Egyptians claim Cambyses for their own; they say that he was the son of this daughter of Apries, and that it was Cyrus, not Cambyses, who sent to Amasis for his daughter. But this tale is false. Nay, they are well aware (for the Egyptians have a truer knowledge than any man of the Persian laws) firstly, that no bastard may be king of Persia if there be a son born in lawful wedlock; and secondly, that Cambyses was born not of the Egyptian woman but of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid. But they so twist the story because they would claim kinship with the house of Cyrus.

3. So much for this matter. There is another tale too, which I do not believe:—that a certain Persian lady came to visit Cyrus' wives, and greatly praised and admired the fair and tall children who stood by Cassandane. Then Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said, "Ay, yet though I be the mother of such children

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ἔσυνταν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτῃ εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δέ οἱ παιδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα "Τοιγάρ τοι ὁ μῆτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνήρ, Αἴγυπτον τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω." ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναικας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμυημονεύοντα οὕτω δῆ, ἐπείτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατηίην.

4. Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐξ τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, οὗνομα δέ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἰκανός καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀλκιμος. οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἴγυπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύσην ἀλθεῖν ἐξ λόγους. οἷα δὲ ἔοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγουν οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενον τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμάσις σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἐλεῖν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὔνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρει κατ' αὐτὸν, δις αἱρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἀλλὰν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐξ Αἴγυπτον σοφίη γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γάρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐξ Πέρσας. ορμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύση ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἀλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾶ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀλασιν, ὡδε παραινέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδὸν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν.

5. Μοίνη δὲ ταύτη εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς

Cyrus dishonours me and honours this newcomer from Egypt." So she spoke in her bitterness against Nitetis; and Cambyses, the eldest of her sons, said, "Then, mother, when I am grown a man, I will turn all Egypt upside down." When he said this he was about ten years old, and the women marvelled at him; but he kept it in mind, and it was thus that when he grew up and became king, he made the expedition against Egypt.

4. It chanced also that another thing befell tending to this expedition. There was among Amasis' foreign soldiers one Phanes, a Halicarnassian by birth, a man of sufficient judgment and valiant in war. This Phanes had some grudge against Amasis, and fled from Egypt on shipboard that he might have an audience of Cambyses. Seeing that he was a man much esteemed among the foreign soldiery and had an exact knowledge of all Egyptian matters, Amasis was zealous to take him, and sent a trireme with the trustiest of his eunuchs to pursue him. This eunuch caught him in Lycia but never brought him back to Egypt; for Phanes was too clever for him, and made his guards drunk and so escaped to Persia. There he found Cambyses prepared to set forth against Egypt, but in doubt as to his march, how he should cross the waterless desert; so Phanes showed him what was Amasis' condition and how he should march; as to this, he counselled Cambyses to send and ask the king of the Arabians for a safe passage.

5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt

## HERODOTUS

Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὕρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἔλισσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶνα κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἥδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ὃν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννευώκαστι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἵνου δἰς τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμοῦται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω δεῖ τὸν μὲν δῆμαρχον ἑκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὕδατος. οὗτοι ὁ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἔξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

7. Οὕτω μέν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ

is this. The road runs from Phoenice as far as the borders of the city of Cadytis,<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, as it is called. From Cadytis (which, as I judge, is a city not much smaller than Sardis) to the city of Ienysus the seaports belong to the Arabians; then they are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonian marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seawards; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho,<sup>2</sup> it is said, was hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days' journey, wondrous waterless.

6. I will now tell of a thing that but few of those who sail to Egypt have perceived. Earthen jars full of wine are brought into Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenice besides: yet one might safely say there is not a single empty wine jar anywhere in the country. What then (one may ask) becomes of them? This too I will tell. Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and take them to Memphis, and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to those waterless lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and unloaded or emptied there is carried to Syria to join the stock that has already been taken there.

7. Now as soon as the Persians took possession of Egypt, it was they who thus provided for the entry

<sup>1</sup> Probably Gaza.

<sup>2</sup> Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and "buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.

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τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἰγυπτον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἔοντος κω ὕδατος ἑτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησσέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

8. Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα, ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνήρ, ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεώς, λίθῳ δὲ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἐπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἴματίου ἐκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἷματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἐπτά· τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξείνου ἥ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν, ἥν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιέηται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιεῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρῆν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατά περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὑποξυρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους. ὄνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὁροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανάτο τοιάδε· ἀσκοὺς καμῆλων πλήσας ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμῆλων πάσας, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, δεῖ δὲ καὶ

into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

8. There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is the manner of their giving them:—a man stands between the two parties that would give security, and cuts with a sharp stone the palms of the hands of the parties, by the thumb; then he takes a piece of wood from the cloak of each and smears with the blood seven stones that lie between them, calling the while on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and when he has fully done this, he that gives the security commends to his friends the stranger (or his countryman if the party be such), and his friends hold themselves bound to honour the pledge. They deem none other to be gods save Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and they say that the cropping of their hair is like the cropping of the hair of Dionysus, cutting it round the head and shaving the temples. They call Dionysus, Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat.<sup>1</sup>

9. Having then pledged himself to the messengers who had come from Cambyses, the Arabian planned and did as I shall show: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded all his live camels with these; which done, he drove them into the waterless land and there awaited Cambyses' army. This is the most credible of the stories told; but I must relate the

<sup>1</sup> According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," *ōrath* *āl*, and Alilat the feminine of *āllēl*, "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.

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τὸν ἡσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι.  
 ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὔνομα  
 Κόρυς, ἐκδίδοι δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεο-  
 μένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὡν τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, φαφάμενον  
 τῶν ὡμοβοέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὄχετὸν  
 μήκει ἔξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ  
 τούτων τὸ ὄδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνυδρῷ μεγάλας δεξα-  
 μενὰς δρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὄδωρ σώζωσι.  
 ὅδὸς δ' ἐστὶ δυώδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δέ μιν δι' ὄχετῶν  
 τριῶν ἐς τριξὰ χωρία.

10. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι  
 τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμῆντος ὁ Ἀμά-  
 σιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἄμασιν γάρ οὐ  
 κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον,  
 ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἄμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσ-  
 σεράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα  
 ἄνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηνείχθη ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ  
 ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῆσι ἐν τῷ ἴρῳ, τὰς  
 αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμῆντος δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἴγυπτον φάσμα Αἴγυπ-  
 τίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· ὕσθησαν γάρ Θῆβαι  
 αἱ Αἴγυπτιαι, οὗτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὕσθεῖσαι  
 οὕτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Θηβαῖοι· οὐ γάρ δὴ ὑεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἴγυπτου  
 τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι  
 ψακάδι.

11. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε διεξελάσσαντες τὴν  
 ἄνυδρον ἤζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβα-  
 λέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου,  
 ἔστες ἄνδρες "Ελληνές τε καὶ Κάρες, μεμφόμενοι

less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, issuing into the sea called Red. From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians carried water by a duct of sewn ox-hides and other hides of a length sufficient to reach to the dry country ; and he had great tanks dug in that country to receive and keep the water. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to that desert. By three ducts (they say) he led the water to three several places.

10. Psammenitus, son of Amasis, was encamped by the mouth of the Nile called Pelusian, awaiting Cambyses. For when Cambyses marched against Egypt he found Amasis no longer alive ; he had died after reigning forty-four years, in which no great misfortune had befallen him ; and being dead he was embalmed and laid in the burial-place built for himself in the temple. While his son Psammenitus was king of Egypt, the people saw a most wonderful sight, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where, as the Thebans themselves say, there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime ; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt ; but at that time a drizzle of rain fell at Thebes.<sup>1</sup>

11. Now the Persians having crossed the waterless country and encamped near the Egyptians with intent to give battle, the foreign soldiery of the Egyptian, Greeks and Carians, devised a plan to punish Phanes,

<sup>1</sup> In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at Thebes (Luxor) ; very little and very seldom.

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τῷ Φάνη δὲ στρατὸν ἡγαγε ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. ἥσαν τῷ Φάνη παιδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς δύψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἔκαστον τῶν παιδῶν ἔσφαξον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παιδῶν οἰνόν τε καὶ ὄδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

12. Θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν γὰρ ὄστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὄστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσὶ ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνῃ βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἴσχυραι, μόγις ἀν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξεις. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γε εὔπετέως ἐπειθού, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὄστέον. τώντο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιον ἐστί· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἀν τις ἐλαχίστους ἵδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἴσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε· σκηνηροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες. ταῦτα μέν

being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

12. I saw there a strange thing, of which the people of the country had told me. The bones of those slain on either side in this fight lying scattered separately (for the Persian bones lay in one place and the Egyptian in another, where the armies had first separately stood), the skulls of the Persians are so brittle that if you throw no more than a pebble it will pierce them, but the Egyptian skulls are so strong that a blow of a stone will hardly break them. And this, the people said (which for my own part I readily believed), is the reason of it: the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. This also is the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. Their skulls then are strong for this reason; and the cause of the Persian skulls being weak is that they shelter their heads through their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear. Such is the truth of this matter. I saw

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νυν τοιαῦτα· εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δημοια τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι τῶν ἄμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος.

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράπαντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἐπειπτε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἀνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἀλέες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος τήν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεσν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεχέες Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δῶρα ἐπειπτον. ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι, δείσαντες ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, δτι ἦν ὀλίγα· ἐπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μιέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι· ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

14. Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτη ἀπ' ἣς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμη τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειράτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε· στέλλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουληΐῃ ἐξέπειπτε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὕδρηιον, συνέπειπτε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως

too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

13. After their rout in the battle the Egyptians fled in disorder; and they being driven into Memphis, Cambyses sent a Persian herald up the river in a ship of Mytilene to invite them to an agreement. But when they saw the ship coming to Memphis, they sallied out all together from their walls, destroyed the ship, tore the crew asunder (like butchers) and carried them within the walls. So the Egyptians were besieged, and after a good while yielded; but the neighbouring Libyans, affrighted by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered unresisting, laying tribute on themselves and sending gifts; and so too, affrighted like the Libyans, did the people of Cyrene and Barca. Cambyses received in all kindness the gifts of the Libyans; but he seized what came from Cyrene and scattered it with his own hands among his army. This he did, as I think, to mark his displeasure at the littleness of the gift; for the Cyrenaean had sent five hundred silver minae.

14. On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and set him down in the outer part of the city with other Egyptians, to do him despite; having so done he made trial of Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. He dressed the king's daughter in slave's attire and sent her with a vessel to fetch water, in company with other maidens dressed as she was, chosen from

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έσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέος. ὡς δὲ βοῆ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἵ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὄρῶντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προΐδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δεύτερά οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπειτε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἥλικίην ἔχονταν, τοὺς τε αὐχένας καὶ φρεάτην δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· ἦγοντο δὲ ποινὴν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῷ νηὶ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆιοι δικασταῖ, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἔκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι. ὃ δὲ ίδὼν παρεξιόντας καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύντων, τῶντὸ ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θυγατρὶ. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἔοντων ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαυτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστειῷ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ὄνομαστὴν τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐπληῆξατο τὴν κεφαλήν. ἥσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἵ τὸ ποιεύμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύση ἐσήμαινον. Θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δι' ὃ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὄρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέ-

the families of the chief men. So when the damsels passed before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children's evil case ; but Psammenitus, having seen with his own eyes and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths ; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytilenaeans who had perished with their ship at Memphis ; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army ; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did as each went forth. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger : " Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried

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κλαυστας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκουντα, ώς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἐτίμησας." δὲ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, δὲ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Ω παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκήια ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἡ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, δις ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχηῆν ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῆν." καὶ ταῦτα ώς<sup>1</sup> ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὖ δοκέειν σφι εἰρῆσθαι, ώς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ' Αἴγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καρβύσηγ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον), δακρύειν δὲ Πέρσέων τοὺς παρεόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καρβύσηγ ἐσελθεῖν οἰκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἀγειν παρ' ιωτόν.

15. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὐτὸν αὐτὸν οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιεόντα ἄλλα πρῶν κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμίνιτον ἀναστήσατες ἡγον παρὰ Καρβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ἀν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἔωθασι Πέρσαι τῷν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀπεστέωσι, δικαστοῖς τοῖσι γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοῖσι μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι διτοῦτο οὔτω νερομίκασι ποιέειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρᾳ, δις ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Παυσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω

<sup>1</sup> Probably δέ below should be omitted; otherwise the sentence cannot be translated.

aloud nor wept, yet did this honour to the poor man, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is none of your kin?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the misfortune of my companion called for tears—one that has lost wealth and good fortune and now on the threshold of old age is come to beggary." When the messenger so reported, and Cambyses and his court, it is said, found the answer good, then, as the Egyptians tell, Croesus wept (for it chanced that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and so did the Persians that were there; Cambyses himself felt somewhat of pity, and forthwith he bade that Psammenitus' son be saved alive out of those that were to be slain, and that Psammenitus himself be taken from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15. As for the son, those that went for him found that he was no longer living, but had been the first to be hewn down; but they brought Psammenitus away and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt as to be governor of it; for the Persians are wont to honour king's sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros

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έργασαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἐλαβε τὸν μισθόν ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλω· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπώιστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πιῶν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάνιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες (οὐ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς ἄτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο), ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὅν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστί, Πέρσησι μὲν δι' ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ γενόμεναι πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸς κατεσθίειν τὰ περ ἀν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸς τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. οὐκων θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τὸν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταθρωθῇ. οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιέειν ὁ Καμβύσης. ως μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἀμασίς ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθών, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμανόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ ως πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἀμασίς τὰ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα

and Amyrtaeus.<sup>1</sup> But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when this came to Cambyses' ears, Psammenitus drank bulls' blood<sup>2</sup> and forthwith died. Such was his end.

16. From Memphis Cambyses went to the city Sais, desiring to do that which indeed he did. Entering the house of Amasis, straightway he bade carry Amasis' body out from its place of burial; and when this was accomplished, he gave command to scourge it and pull out the hair and pierce it with goads, and do it despite in all other ways. When they were weary of doing this (for the body, being embalmed, remained whole and did not fall to pieces), Cambyses commanded to burn it, a sacrilegious command; for the Persians hold fire to be a god; therefore neither nation deems it right to burn the dead, the Persians for the reason assigned, as they say it is wrong to give the dead body of a man to a god; while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies together with that whereon it feeds. Now it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts; and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and be eaten of worms. Thus Cambyses commanded the doing of a thing contrary to the custom of both peoples. Howbeit, as the Egyptians say, it was not Amasis to whom this was done, but another Egyptian of a like stature, whom the Persians despitefully used thinking that they so treated Amasis. For their story is that Amasis learnt from an oracle what was to be

<sup>1</sup> The revolt of the Egyptians Inaros and Amyrtaeus against the Persian governor lasted from 460 to 455 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, *ad loc.*)

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μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὗτῳ δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῆσι θύρησι ἐντὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἐωντὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θεῖναι. αἱ μὲν νῦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι οὐ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σέμνουν.

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐθουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Λιθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιθύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ βουλευομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Λιθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὀψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Λιθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτη τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλέᾳ αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιῆδε τις λέγεται εἶναι. λειμῶν ἔστι ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἔοντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιῆδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἔξι Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν

done to him after his death, and so to avert this doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his death by the door within his own vault, and commanded his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

17. After this Cambyses planned three expeditions, against the Carchedonians,<sup>1</sup> and against the Ammonians, and against the "long-lived"<sup>2</sup> Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Libyan coast of the southern sea. Taking counsel, he resolved to send his fleet against the Carchedonians and a part of his land army against the Ammonians; to Ethiopia he would send first spies, to see what truth there were in the story of a Table of the Sun in that country, and to spy out all else besides, under the pretext of bearing gifts for the Ethiopian king.

18. Now this is said to be the fashion of the Table of the Sun.<sup>3</sup> There is a meadow outside the city, filled with the boiled flesh of all four-footed things; here during the night the men of authority among the townsmen are careful to set out the meat, and all day he that wishes comes and feasts thereon. These meats, say the people of the country, are ever produced by the earth of itself.

19. Such is the story of the Sun's Table. When Cambyses was resolved to send the spies, he sent straightway to fetch from the city Elephantine those of the Fish-eaters who understood

<sup>1</sup> Carthaginians.      <sup>2</sup> *cp.* beginning of ch. 23.

<sup>3</sup> This story may be an indication of offerings made to the dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.

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τοῖς ἐπισταμένοντις τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. ἐν  
ῷ δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν  
Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοί-  
νικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιῆσειν ταῦτα ὥρκιοισι  
γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀν ποιέειν  
ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωυτῶν στρατεύομενοι.  
Φοίνικων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἄξιο-  
μαχοὶ ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μέν τυν οὕτω δου-  
λοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων. Καμβύσης γὰρ  
βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας  
τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινί-  
κων ἥρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ  
Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ'  
Αἴγυπτον.

20. Ἐπείτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαν-  
τίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἐπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς  
τοὺς Αἰθιοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ  
δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσεον  
στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου  
ἀλιβαστρον καὶ φοινικήιον οῖνον κάδον. οι δὲ  
Αἰθιόπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπτε ὁ Καμβύσης,  
λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ καὶ λιμποὶ ἀνθρώπων  
πάντων. νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς  
κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ  
κατὰ τὴν βασιλήην τοιῷδε· τὸν ἀν τῶν ἀστῶν  
κρίνωσι μέγιστὸν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος  
ἔχειν τὴν ἴσχύν, τούτον ἄξιοντι βασιλεύειν.

21. Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὡν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο  
οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλέι  
αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. “Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμ-  
βύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῖνός τοι γενέσθαι,  
ἵμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων,

the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon. But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could not righteously attack their own sons; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly surrendered to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

20. When the Fish-eaters came from Elephantine at Cambyses' message, he sent them to Ethiopia, charged with what they should say, and bearing gifts, to wit, a purple cloak and a twisted gold necklace and armlets and an alabaster box of incense and an earthenware jar of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyses sent them, are said to be the tallest and fairest of all men. Their way of choosing kings is different from that of all others, as (it is said) are all their laws; they deem worthy to be their king that townsman whom they judge to be tallest and to have strength proportioned to his stature.

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters came, offering gifts and delivering this message to their king: "Cambyses king of Persia, desiring to be your friend and guest, sends us with command to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such

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καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι δίδοι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα  
ῆδεται χρεώμενος." ὁ δὲ Λίθιοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κα-  
τόπται ἡκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "Οὕτε  
ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἐπεμψε φέροντας  
προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἔμοι ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς  
λέγετε ἀληθέα (ἡκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς  
ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ  
ἥν δίκαιος, οὗτ' ἀν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης ἢ τῆς  
ἔωστοῦ, οὗτ' ἀν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ'  
ῶν μηδὲν ἥδικηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε δι-  
δόντες τάδε ἐπεια λέγετε. 'Βασιλεὺς ὁ Λίθιόπων  
συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλέᾳ, ἐπεὰν οὔτω  
εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἔοντα μεγάθει  
τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Λίθιοπας τοὺς μακροβίους  
πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι μέχρι δὲ  
τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέραι χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρά-  
πουσι Λίθιόπων παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι  
τῇ ἔωστῶν!'"

22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀνεὶς τὸ τόξον παρέ-  
δωκε τοῖσι ἡκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἷμα τὸ πορ-  
φύρεον εἰρώτα ὁ τι εἴη καὶ δκως πεποιημένον.  
εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείην περὶ  
τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἶματα.  
δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν  
περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἔξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν  
Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βα-  
σιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἰπε ὡς παρ'  
ἔωστοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. τρί-  
τον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος  
πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ  
τοῦ εἶματος εἰπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκετο καὶ

gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use." But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them : " It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man ; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message : ' The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians ; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have.' "

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made ; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets ; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said : " We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense ; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the

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ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο δὲ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὄκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζώει. οἱ δὲ σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἔξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, σγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Λιθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτεόμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὅλιγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοισι τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐωντοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

23. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζόης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέεσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἔτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἣς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατύ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἶη· δῖειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων. ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δή τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν δσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἰ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οἶόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἀν εἰεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέησι δεδέσθαι. ἐστι δὲ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Λιθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμώτατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung<sup>1</sup>; they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

23. The Fish-eaters then in turn asking of the Ethiopian length of life and diet, he said that most of them attained to an hundred and twenty years, and some even to more; their food was boiled meat and their drink milk. The spies showed wonder at the tale of years; whereon he led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing wherein they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil; and it smelt as it were of violets. So light, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water be truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived. When they left the spring, the king led them to a prison where all the men were bound with fetters of gold. Among these Ethiopians there is nothing so scarce and so precious as bronze. Then, having seen the prison, they saw what is called the Table of the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.

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24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθείσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἴσχυνήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατά πέρ Λίγυπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως καὶ, γνψώσαντες ἀπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῆ κοσμέουστε, ἐξομοιεῦντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἐπειτα δέ οἱ περιστᾶσι στήλῃ ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἢ δέ σφι πολλή καὶ εὐεργὸς δρύσσεται. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὅδμὴν οὐδεμίᾳν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὄμοιῶς αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυι. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ίστάσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὅπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίᾳν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐωτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἷα δὲ ἐμμανῆς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὡς ἦκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο. Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεοντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἀμα ἀγόμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβησι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦμε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἰχον σιτίων ἔχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ

24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins ; these are said to be made of alabaster, as I shall describe : they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man ; then they set it within a hollow pillar of alabaster, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought ; the body can be seen in the pillar through the alabaster, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices ; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25. Having viewed all, the spies departed back again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched forthwith against the Ethiopians, neither giving command for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth ; and being not in his right mind but mad, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, setting the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he parted about fifty thousand men from his army, and charged them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zens ; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was

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δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μέν νυν μαθῶν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχεε καὶ ἀπῆγε ὅπιστα τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένῃ ἀμαρτάδι ἦν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγου ποιεύμενος ἦμε αἱεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔως μέν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωσν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν φάμμον ἀπίκουντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἔργασαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπεὶς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὅπιστα ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

26. 'Ο μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὗτος ἐπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπείτε ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγούς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροὶ εἰσὶ ἐς 'Οασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμοι τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἐπτα ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ Φάρμου· ὁρμάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατὸν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκουντο οὔτε ὅπιστα ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς 'Οάσιος ταύτης οἴναι διὰ τῆς φάρμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς 'Οάσιος,

gone they ate the beasts of burden till there was none of these left also. Now had Cambyses, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he had been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, nothing recking. While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, certain of them did a terrible deed, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. Hearing this, Cambyses feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away.

26. So fared the expedition against Ethiopia. As for those of the host who were sent to march against the Ammonians, they set forth and journeyed from Thebes with guides; and it is known that they came to the city Oasis,<sup>1</sup> where dwell Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe, seven days' march from Thebes across sandy desert; this place is called, in the Greek language, the Island of the Blest. Thus far, it is said, the army came; after that, save the Ammonians themselves and those who heard from them, no man can say aught of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians nor returned back. But this is what the Ammonians themselves say: When the Persians were crossing the sand from the Oasis to attack them, and were about midway between their country and the Oasis, while they were

<sup>1</sup> Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the "Great oasis" of Khargeh, about seven days' journey from Thebes, as he says.

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ἄριστον αἰρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον  
μέγαν τε καὶ ἔξαιστον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς  
ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ  
ἀφανισθῆναι. Αἱμώνιοι μὲν οὖτω λέγουσι γενέ-  
σθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

27. Ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη  
Αἴγυπτίοισι ό "Απις, τὸν "Ελλήνες "Ἐπαφὸν καλέ-  
ονται ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ  
Αἴγυπτοι εἶματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἡσαν  
ἐν θαλίῃσι. Ιδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους ποι-  
εῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας  
ἔωστον κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέ-  
ειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικο-  
μένους δὲ ἐς ὅψιν ἐρετο ὃ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος  
αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίευν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἴγυπτοι,  
τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πλῆθος  
τι ἀποβαλλών. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς σφι θεὸς εἴη  
φανεῖς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι,  
καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῆ τότε πάντες Αἴγυπτοι κεχαρη-  
κότες ὄρταζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἐφη  
ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ  
έξημίσουν.

28. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας  
ἐκάλεε ἐς ὅψιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν  
ἱρέων, οὐ λήστεν ἐφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεός τις χειροήθης  
ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἴγυπτίοισι, τοσαῦτα δὲ εἴπας  
ἀπάγγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν "Απιν τοὺς ἱρέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ  
μετήισαν ἀξοντες. ὁ δὲ "Απις οὗτος ὁ "Ἐπαφος  
γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βούς, ἥτις οὐκέτι οἵη τε γίνεται  
ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον. Αἴγυπτοι  
δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν "Απιν.

breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

27. After Cambyses was come to Memphis there appeared in Egypt that Apis<sup>1</sup> whom the Greeks call Epaphus; at which revelation straightway the Egyptians donned their fairest garments and kept high festival. Seeing the Egyptians so doing, Cambyses was fully persuaded that these signs of joy were for his misfortunes, and summoned the rulers of Memphis; when they came before him he asked them why the Egyptians acted so at the moment of his coming with so many of his army lost, though they had done nothing like it when he was before at Memphis. The rulers told him that a god, who had been wont to reveal himself at long intervals of time, had now appeared to them; and that all Egypt rejoiced and made holiday whenever he so appeared. At this Cambyses said that they lied, and he punished them with death for their lie.

28. Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. When they gave him the same account, he said that "if a tame god had come to the Egyptians he would know it"; and with no more words he bade the priests bring Apis. So they went to seek and bring him. This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to

<sup>1</sup> cp. ii. 38.

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ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἀπις καλεόμενος σημῆνα τοιάδε ἔων μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νωτοῦ αἰετὸν εἴκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κάνθαρον.

29. Ὡς δὲ ἡγαγον τὸν Ἀπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οὐαὶ ἔων ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἀπιος παιεῖ τὸν μηρόν· γελασας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας "Ο κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοι τε καὶ σαρκιώδεες καὶ ἐπαλούτες σιδηρίων; ἄξιος μέν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτος γε ὁ θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε." ταῦτα εἶπας ἐνετεῖλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήστουσι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτιῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἄν λάβωσι ὄρταζοντα κτείνειν. ὄρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρῃ Καμβύσεω.

30. Καμβύσης δέ, ως λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἔων οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν ἔοντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυστε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἦνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἶος τε ἐγένετο. ἀποχομένου ὅν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ τοιήνδε ἐδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ως ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ

Apis. The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue.

29. When the priests led Apis in, Cambyses—for he was well-nigh mad—drew his dagger and made to stab the calf in the belly, but smote the thigh; then laughing he said to the priests: “Wretched wights, are these your gods, creatures of flesh and blood that can feel weapons of iron? that is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But for you, you shall suffer for making me your laughing-stock.” So saying he bade those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests well, and to kill any other Egyptian whom they found holiday-making. So the Egyptian festival was ended, and the priests were punished, and Apis lay in the temple and died of the blow on the thigh. When he was dead of the wound, the priests buried him without Cambyses’ knowledge.

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses’ former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia

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τῷ βασιληίῳ ίζόμενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα δείσας περὶ ἐωυτοῦ μη μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχη, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. ὃ δὲ ἀναβὰς ἐς Σουσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οὐ μὲν λέγονται ἐπ' ἄγρην ἔξαγαγόντα, οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

31. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο· δεύτερα δὲ ἔξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἑσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεῇ. ἔγημε δὲ αὐτὴν ὡδεῖδαμῶς γάρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῆσι ἀδελφεῆσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι. ἡράσθη μῆτρας τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν, εἰρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιληίους δικαστὰς εἰ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφι παρευρεθῆ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἔξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἔξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἔξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἔξειναι ποιέειν τὸ ἄν βούληται. οὕτω οὗτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ

and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did ; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red<sup>1</sup> Sea and there drowned him.

31. This, they say, was the first of Cambyses' evil acts ; next, he made away with his full sister, who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he had taken to wife. He married her on this wise (for before this, it had by no means been customary for Persians to marry their sisters) : Cambyses was enamoured of one of his sisters and presently desired to take her to wife ; but his intention being contrary to usage, he summoned the royal judges<sup>2</sup> and inquired whether there were any law suffering one, that so desired, to marry his sister. These royal judges are men chosen out from the Persians to be so till they die or are detected in some injustice ; it is they who decide suits in Persia and interpret the laws of the land ; all matters are referred to them. These then replied to Cambyses with an answer which was both just and safe, namely, that they could find no law giving a brother power to marry his sister ; but that they had also found a law whereby the King of Persia might do whatsoever he wished. Thus they broke not the law for fear of Cambyses, and, to save themselves from death for maintaining it, they found

<sup>1</sup> Not our Red Sea (*Αράβιας θάλασσας*) but the Persian Gulf, probably ; but it is to be noted that Herodotus has no definite knowledge of a gulf between Persia and Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> A standing body of seven ; *cp.* Book of Esther, i. 14.

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θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην, μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνου ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τοιτέων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέρην ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

32. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἐλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρέειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναικα ταῦτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἡδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δὶ’ ὅ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἶη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἐλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, Λιγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναικα περιτῆλαι καὶ ἐπανειρέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἡ θρίδαξ ἡ δασέα εἶη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν “Ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμμήσαο τὸν Κύρου οἰκον ἀποψιλώσας.” τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπηδῆσαι αὐτῇ ἔχούση ἐν γαστρί, καὶ μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33. Γαῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἰα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές. οὐ νύν

another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

32. There are two tales of her death, as of the death of Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had set a puppy to fight a lion's cub, with this woman too looking on; and the puppy being worsted, another puppy, its brother, broke its leash and came to help, whereby the two dogs together got the better of the cub. Cambyses, they say, was pleased with the sight, but the woman wept as she sat by. Cambyses perceived it and asking why she wept, she said she had wept when she saw the puppy help its brother, for thinking of Smerdis and how there was none to avenge him. For saying this, according to the Greek story, Cambyses put her to death. But the Egyptian tale is that as the two sat at table the woman took a lettuce and plucked off the leaves, then asked her husband whether he liked the look of it, with or without leaves; "With the leaves," said he; whereupon she answered: "Yet you have stripped Cyrus' house as bare as this lettuce." Angered at this, they say, he leaped upon her, she being great with child; and she miscarried and died of the hurt he gave her.

33. Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call "sacred."<sup>1</sup> It is no unlikely thing

<sup>1</sup> Epilepsy.

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τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαινεῖν.

34. Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἔξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ὑγγελίας ἐφόρες οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρή· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. "Πρηξασπεῖς, κοῦν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;" τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ο δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέατ, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκέεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι. "Νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἵνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἥσαν ἀληθέες." πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἴρετο Καμβύσης κοῦν τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κύρον, οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροίσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσι εἰπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. "'Εμοὶ μέν νυν, ὡς παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις δομοῖς εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ· οὐ γάρ κώ ται ἐστὶν οὐδὲ οἷον σὲ ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο.'" ἥσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν.

35. Τούτων δὴ ὡν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὄργῃ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα "Σύ νυν μάθε εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παρ-

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then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

34. I will now tell of his mad dealings with the rest of Persia. He said, as they report, to Prexaspes—whom he held in especial honour, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honourable office of Cambyses' cup-bearer—thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: “What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how speak they of me?” “Sire,” said Prexaspes, “for all else they greatly praise you; but they say that you love wine too well.” So he reported of the Persians; the king angrily replied: “If the Persians now say that 'tis my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie.” For it is said that ere this, certain Persians and Croesus sitting with him, Cambyses asked what manner of man they thought him to be in comparison with Cyrus his father; and they answered, “that Cambyses was the better man; for he had all of Cyrus' possessions and had won besides Egypt and the sea.” So said the Persians; but Croesus, who was present, and was ill-satisfied with their judgment, thus spoke to Cambyses: “To my thinking, son of Cyrus, you are not like your father; for you have as yet no son such as he left after him in you.” This pleased Cambyses, and he praised Croesus' judgment.

35. Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: “Judge you then if the Persians speak truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds

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φρονέουσιν εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἐστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέστης τῆς καρδίης, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν τιν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ μὲ μὴ σωφρονέειν." ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλῆμα· ώς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὑρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν διστόν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον "Πρῆξασπες, ώς μὲν ἔγώ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δῆλα τοι γέγονε. οὗν δέ μοι εἴπε, τίνα εἶδες ἦδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;" Πρῆξάσπεα δὲ ὄρῶντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἔωστῷ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν "Δέσποτα, οὐδὲ ἄν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἄν καλῶς βαλεῖν." τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἔξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοισι δυώδεκα ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἵτινα ἀξιοχρέω ἐλῶν ζώοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.

36. Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιεῦντα ἔδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νοιθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἐπεστι. "Ο βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίη καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ' ἵσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθίη. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιῆτας ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἵτινα ἀξιοχρέω ἐλῶν, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιέης, δρα δκως μή σεν ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νοιθετέειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι δ τι ἄν εύρισκω ἀγαθόν." ὃ μὲν δὴ εὔνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευε οἱ ταῦτα· ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Σὺ

when they so speak of me. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and I out of my senses." So saying, he strung his bow and hit the boy, and bade open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy's father: "It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world saw you ever that shot so true to the mark?" Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), "Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true." Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, proved them guilty of some petty offence, and buried them alive up to the neck.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: "Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good." Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: "It is very

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καὶ ἔμοὶ τολμᾶς συμβούλεύειν, δὲ χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἴέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἑκίνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὥλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάσ, ἀπὸ δὲ ὥλεσας Κύρου πειθόμενον σοί, ἀλλ' οὐτι χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τεν ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτὸν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεύσαι οὐκ είχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ θεράπουστες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητέῃ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφῆντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψουται ζωάγρια Κροῖσου, ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμέληται μηδὲ ποθέη μιν, τοτε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράπουστες μαθόντες τούτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροῖσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιεόντι, ἑκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. "Ο μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἔξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἤλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῶγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικήσι Παταίκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν

well that you should dare to counsel me too ; you, who governed your own country right usefully, and gave fine advice to my father—bidding him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them ; thus you wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country, and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you shall rue it ; long have I waited for an occasion to deal with you." With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead ; but Croesus leapt up and ran out ; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing Cambyses' mood, hid Croesus ; being minded, if Cambyses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life ; but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants told him that Croesus was alive still. Cambyses said that he too was glad of it ; but that they, who had saved Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed ; and this was done.

37. Many such mad deeds did Cambyses to the Persians and his allies ; he abode at Memphis, and there opened ancient coffins and examined the dead bodies. Thus too he entered the temple of Hephaestus and made much mockery of the image there. This image of Hephaestus is most like to the Phoenician Pataici,<sup>1</sup> which the Phoenicians carry on the

<sup>1</sup> The Phoenician *Pataicor* (as the Greeks called him) was the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus ; always in the form of a dwarf.

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τῆσι πρώρησι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὅπωπε, ὥδε σημανέω πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἔστι. ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καθείρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐθεμιτόν ἔστι ἔσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἡ τὸν ἵρεα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταχῷ ὧν μοι δῆλα ἔστι ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γάρ ἀν ἰροῖσι τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχειρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελευων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἀν ἑλοίατο ἔκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἔκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκων οἰκός ἔστι ἄλλον γε ἡ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι· ὡς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πολλοῖσι τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἴρετο ἐπὶ κόσφῳ ἀν χρήματι βουλοίατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἀν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἐρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἀν τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μέν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φῆσας εἶναι.

prows of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

38. I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyses was very mad; else he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs, each, after examination made, would place its own first; so well is each persuaded that its own are by far the best. It is not therefore to be supposed that any, save a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs:—When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them what price would persuade them to eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. Then he summoned those Indians who are called Callatiae,<sup>1</sup> who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding by interpretation what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud, that he should not speak of so horrid an act. So firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that use and wont is lord of all.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently from Sanskrit *Kdla* = black.

<sup>2</sup> *ρόμετ δ τάνταν βασιλεύς θυτῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων*; quoted in Plato's *Gorgias* from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.

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39. Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποίησαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηὴν ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν .<sup>1</sup> τοῖσι ἀδελφοῖσι Πανταγγώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἔξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ἔξινην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἴγυπτον βασιλέι συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἔκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρῆγματα ηὔξετο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γάρ ίθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἔχώρεε εὐτυχέως. ἕκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἵγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γάρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε ή ἀρχῆν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νῆσων ἀραιρήκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατῆ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἶλε, οὐ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὥρυξαν.

40. Καί κως τὸν Ἀμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦτ' ἵν ἐπιμελές. πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς θυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. “Ἀμασις Πολυκράτεϊ ὅδε λέγει. ήδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρῆσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ως ἔστι φθονερόν· καὶ κως βού-

<sup>1</sup> σύν οτ δια is probably omitted.

39. While Cambyses was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too made war upon Samos and Aeaces' son Polycrates. He had revolted and won Samos,<sup>1</sup> and first, dividing the city into three parts, gave a share in the government to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Syloson, and so made himself lord of all Samos; which done, he made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending and receiving from him gifts. Very soon after this Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his warlike enterprises prospered. An hundred fifty-oared ships he had, and a thousand archers, and he harried all men alike, making no difference; for, he said, he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates worsted them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the fosse round the citadel of Samos.

40. Now Amasis was in some wise aware and took good heed of Polycrates' great good fortune; and this continuing to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: "From Amasis to Polycrates, these. It is pleasant to learn of the well-being of a friend and ally. But I like not these great successes of yours; for I know how jealous are

<sup>1</sup> Probably in 532 B.C.

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λομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀν κήδωμαι τὸ μέν τι εὔτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλὰξ πρήστων ἡ εὔτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδέντα γάρ κω λογιφ οἴδα ἀκουνσας δστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριξος, εὔτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιησον πρὸς τὰς εὔτυχίας τοιάδε· φροντίσας τὸ ἀν εὔρης ἔον τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ὅ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὕκως μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλὰξ ἥδη τῷπὸ τούτου αἱ εὔτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθηστε προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέο·”

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὐ ὑπετίθετο "Αμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ὧ ἀν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὔρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγῖς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. ὃπελ ὃν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῆδα πάντων ὄρωντων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἔχρāτο.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἀλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἥξιον μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκρατεῖ ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς δψιν, χωρίσαντος δέ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν “Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ

the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this in the face of your successes: consider what you deem most precious and what you will most grieve to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you."

41. Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis' advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most afflict his soul to lose, and to this conclusion he came: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, wrought by Theodorus son of Telescles of Samos; being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and bade them put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were in the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss.

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: "O King, I am a man that lives by

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τόνδε ἐλῶν οὐκ ἔδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐών ἀποχειροβίοτος, ἀλλά μοι ἔδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὴ μιν φέρων δίδωμι.” ὃ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καί σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνου καλέομεν.” ὃ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἵχθυν τάμνουντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουντι ἐν τῇ υηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφριγγίδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδον τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἐφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφριγγίδα ἐλεγον ὅτεψ τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφαι ἐς βυθίλιον πάντα τὰ ποιήσατά μιν οἴα καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ βυθίλιον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἱκον, ἔμαθε δτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἱη ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μελλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ δτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εύτυχέων τὰ πάντα, δς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εύρισκει. πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἶνεκεν ταῦτα ἔποιεε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβουσῆς αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

44. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ἀν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εύτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρη Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη δκως ἀν καὶ παρ' ἐωτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο

his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done right well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me." Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

43. When Amasis had read Polycrates' letter, he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end. So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, with this intent, that when some great and terrible mishap overtook Polycrates, he himself might not have to grieve his heart for a friend.

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require

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στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἐπεμψε ἐς Σάμον δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἀμα πέμψαι ἔωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεις, ἐντειλίμενος Καμβύσῃ ὅπισθ τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν.

45. Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφι ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρῳ μηκέτι πλέειν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι. καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη· νικῆσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπλεον ἐς Λακεδαιμονία. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκέειν οὐκ ὄρθως· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἰ περ αὐτοὶ ἡσαν ἴκανοι Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι οὐδὲ λόγος αἴρει, τῷ ἐπίκουροί τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκήιοι ἡσαν πλήθει πολλοί, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ὀλίγων ἐσσωθῆναι. τῶν δ' ὑπὸ ἐόντων πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε ἐτοίμους, ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι.

46. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπικοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα-

men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

45. Some say that these Samians who were sent by Polycrates never came to Egypt, but having got as far over the sea as Carpathus there took counsel together and resolved to sail no further; others say that they did come to Egypt and escaped thence from the guard that was set over them. But as they sailed back to Samos, Polycrates' ships met them and joined battle; and the returning Samians gained the day and landed on the island, but were there worsted in a land battle, and so sailed to Lacedaemon. There is another story, that the Samians from Egypt defeated Polycrates; but to my thinking this is untrue; for if they were able to master Polycrates by themselves, they had no need of inviting the Lacedaemonians. Nay, moreover, it is not even reasonable to suppose that he, who had a great army of hired soldiers and bowmen of his own, was worsted by a few men like the returning Samians. Polycrates took the children and wives of the townsmen who were subject to him and shut them up in the arsenal, with intent to burn them and the arsenal too if their men should desert to the returned Samians.

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the

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στάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχαυτας ἐλεγον πολλὰ οἰα  
κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δέ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσι  
ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι,  
τὰ δὲ ὅστα οὐ συνιέναι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα  
καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν ἔπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ  
φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι.  
οἱ δέ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θύλακῷ περιεργάσθαι·  
βοηθέειν δ' ὃν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι.

47. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύ-  
οντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμου, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι  
λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρό-  
τεροι αὐτοὶ νησὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους·  
ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμω-  
ρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοισι ἐστρατεύοντο ὡς  
τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς,  
τὸν ἥργον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖσι  
Ἀμασις ὁ Λίγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ  
γάρ θώρηκα ἐληίσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἡ τὸν  
κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔοντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῷων  
ἐνυφασμένων συγνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ  
εἵριοισι ἀπὸ Ξύλου· τῶν δὲ εἴνεκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον  
ἀρπεδόνη ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιέει· ἐοῦσα γὰρ  
λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἔωστῇ τριηκοσίᾳ καὶ  
ἔξηκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἔτερος ἐστὶ  
καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἀμασις.

48. Συνεπελαβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ  
ἐπὶ Σάμου ὥστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως·  
ὑβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἰχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων  
γενόμενον γενεῆ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου,  
κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ  
γεγονός. Κερκυραιων γὰρ παιδας τριηκοσίους  
ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς  
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ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants meal." To this the Spartans replied: "Your 'sack' was needless"<sup>1</sup>; but they did resolve to help them.

47. The Lacedaemonians then equipped and sent an army to Samos; the Samians say that this was the requital of services done, they having first sent a fleet to help the Lacedaemonians against Messenia; but the Lacedaemonians say that they sent this army less to aid the Samians in their need than to avenge the robbery of the bowl which they had been carrying to Croesus and the breastplate which Amasis King of Egypt had sent them as a gift. This breastplate had been stolen away by the Samians in the year before they took the bowl; it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery, and inwoven with many figures; but what makes the wonder of it is each several thread, for fine as each thread is, it is made up of three hundred and sixty strands, each plainly seen. It is the exact counterpart of that one which Amasis dedicated to Athene in Lindus.

48. The Corinthians also helped zealously to further the expedition against Samos. They too had been treated in a high-handed fashion by the Samians a generation before this expedition, about the time of the robbery of the bowl. Periander son of Cypselus sent to Alyattes at Sardis three hundred boys, sons

<sup>1</sup> It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say *ἀπίτωρ διεται*, without using the word *#όλακοτ*.

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Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἔκτομῇ προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγούσατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἵρου ἄψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορώντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἵρου, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὄρτην, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταῦτα. οὐκτὸς γάρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἰκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡιθέων, ἵστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο ὑόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι σίχοντο ἀπολειπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπῆγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

49. Εἰ μέν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἵ δὲ οὐκ ἄν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἴνεκεν τῆς αἰτίης. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπείτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἔντες ἔωντοῖσι . . .<sup>1</sup> τούτων ὧν εἴνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50. Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἔκτομῇ Περιάνδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γάρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἤρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπείτε γάρ τὴν ἔωντο γυναικα Μέλισσαν Περιάνδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἀλλην

<sup>1</sup> I assume in translation that some word, συγγενέες or δημιουρες, has dropped out.

of notable men in Coreyra, to be made eunuchs. The Corinthians who brought the boys put in at Samos; and when the Samians heard why the boys were brought, first they bade them take sanctuary in the temple of Artemis, then they would not suffer the suppliants to be dragged from the temple; and when the Corinthians tried to starve the boys out, the Samians made a festival which they still celebrate in the same fashion; as long as the boys took refuge, nightly dances of youths and maidens were ordained to which it was made a custom to bring cakes of sesame and honey, that the Coreyraean boys might snatch these and so be fed. This continued to be done till the Corinthian guards left their charge and departed, and the Samians took the boys back to Coreyra.

49. Now had the Corinthians after Periander's death been well disposed towards the Coreyraeans, they would not have aided in the expedition against Samos merely for the reason given. But as it was, ever since the island was colonised they have been at feud with each other, for all their kinship. For these reasons the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians.

50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the sons of the notable Coreyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Coreyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what

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συνέβη πρὸς τὴν γεγονούην γενέσθαι. ἡσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὃ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὃ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφίλοφρονέστο, ώς οἰκὸς ἦν θυγατρὸς ἔόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἴπε προπέμπων αὐτοὺς “Ἄρα ἴστε, ὡς παῖδες, ὃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;” τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὃ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδεὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὃ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκοφρων, ἥλγησε ἀκούσας οὗτος ὅστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἄτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσείπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἵστορέοντι τε λόγον οὐδένα ἔδιδου. τέλος δέ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἔξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51. Ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον ἵστορες τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὃ δέ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ως σφέας φίλοφρόνως ἔδεξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι οἱ Προκλέης ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἄτε οὐ νόφ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι ἐκείνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεέ τε ἵστορέων ὃ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο]<sup>1</sup> καὶ μαλάκὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παις δίαιταν ἐποιεέτο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίουσι. ὃ δὲ ὄκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ<sup>2</sup> ἀν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περίανδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος ἀπελαυνό-

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets καὶ τοῦτο, as a repetition from the last line.

had already befallen him. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one eighteen years old. Their mother's father, Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and kindly entreated them, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter's sons. When they left him, he said as he bade them farewell: "Know you, boys, him who slew your mother?" The elder of them paid no heed to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophiron, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would speak no word to his father, as being his mother's murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor make any reply to his questions. At last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house.

51. Having so done he questioned the elder son, what their grandfather had said in converse to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly; but he made no mention of what he had said at parting: for he had taken no heed to it. Periander said it could not be but that Procles had given them some admonition; and he questioned his son earnestly; till the boy remembered, and told of that also. Being thus informed, Periander was resolved to show no weakness; he sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and bade them not entertain him in their house. So the boy being driven forth and going to another house was ever rejected there too, Periander threatening all who received him and bidding them keep him

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μενος δ' ἀν ἦιε ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἔταιρων οἱ δὲ ἄτε Περιάνδρου ἔόντα παιδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὅμως ἔδεκοντο.

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, δις ἀν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν ἡ προσδιαλεχθῆ, ἵρην ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, δοσην δὴ εἴπας. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἥθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῦσι ἐκαλινδέετο. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρη ἴδων μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίησί τε καὶ ἀσιτίησί συμπεπτώκοτα οἰκτειρεύπεις δὲ τῆς ὄργης ἦιε ἀσσον καὶ ἐλεγε “Ο παῖ, κότερα τουτων αἵρετώτερα ἔστι, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρήστεις, ἡ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἔγῳ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἔόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτίθεον παραλαμβάνειν, δις ἐών ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἶλεν, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὄργῃ χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε ἥκιστα ἔχρην. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἣς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἔγῳ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, δοσφ αὐτὸς σφεα ἔξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν δοσφ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἔστι ἡ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἀμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία.” Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δέ μιν ἵρην ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἔωστῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἀπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ὀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης·

out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son.

52. At the last Periander made a proclamation, that whosoever should receive him into their houses or address him should be held liable to a fine consecrated to Apollo, and he named the sum. In face of this proclamation none would address or receive the boy into his house; nor did the boy himself think well to try to defy the warning, but hardened his heart and lay unfeigned in porches. After three days Periander saw him all starved and unwashed, and took pity on him: his anger being somewhat abated, he came near and said: "My son, which is the better way to choose—to follow your present way of life, or to obey your father and inherit my sovereignty and the good things which I now possess? You are my son, and a prince of wealthy Corinth; yet you have chosen the life of a vagrant, by withstanding and angrily entreating him who should least be so used by you. For if there has been any evil chance in the matter, which makes you to suspect me, 'tis on me that it has come and 'tis I that bear the greater share of it, inasmuch as the act was mine. Nay, bethink you how much better a thing it is to be envied than to be pitied, and likewise what comes of anger against parents and those that are stronger than you, and come away to my house." Thus Periander tried to win his son. But the boy only answered: "You have made yourself liable to the fine consecrated to the god by speaking to me." Then Periander saw that his son's trouble was past cure or constraint, and sent him away in a ship to Coreyra out of his sight; for Coreyra too

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ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἔοντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαιρον, εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἔξωγρησε.

53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὁ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατός τὰ πρῆγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφροντα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παιδῶν οὔκων ἐνώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἡξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίεω δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεῖν, ἑωτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἀν πείθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης "Ὦ παῖ, βούλεαι τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἰκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτὸς σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημῶν. φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἴω. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἡδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννίς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι, δὲ γέρων τε ἡδη καὶ παρηβηκώς μὴ δῆθς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι." ἦ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτῶν ὃ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἡξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἀν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τὸν πατέρα. ἀπαγγειλάστης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἥκειν, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευε

was subject to him; which done, he sent an army against Procles his father-in-law (deeming him to be the chief cause of his present troubles), and took Procles himself alive, besides taking Epidaurus.

53. As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his business, sent to Coreyra inviting Lycophron to be despot; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. Lycophron did not deign even to answer the messenger. Then Periander, greatly desiring that the young man should come, sent to him (as the next best way) his own daughter, the youth's sister, thinking that he would be likeliest to obey her. She came and said, "Brother, would you see the sovereignty pass to others, and our father's house despoiled, rather than come hence and have it for your own? Nay, come away home and cease from punishing yourself. Pride is the possession of fools. Seek not to cure one ill by another. There be many that set reason before righteousness; and many that by zeal for their mother's cause have lost their father's possessions. Despotism is a thing hard to hold; many covet it, and our father is now old and past his prime; give not what is your estate to others." So, by her father's teaching, she used such arguments as were most likely to win Lycophron; but he answered, that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father to be alive. When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, offering to go to Coreyra himself, and

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ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἔκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφι Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

54. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσσην ἐστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προαστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῷ ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ δρεος ἐπεόντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὄλιγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὅπιστι, οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον.

55. Εἰ μέν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων δομοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίη τε καὶ Λυκώπη, αἵρεθη δὲ Σάμος. Ἀρχίης γάρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀποκληισθέντες τῆς ὅπιστι ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίεω τούτου γεγονότει ἀλλῷ Ἀρχίῃ τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ Ἀρχίεω αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (δῆμους γάρ τούτου ἦν), δις ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τούνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναι οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίη ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corecyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

54. The Lacedaemonians then came with a great host, and laid siege to Samos. They assailed the fortress and made their way into the tower by the seaside in the outer part of the city; but presently Polycrates himself attacked them with a great force and drove them out. The foreign soldiery and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill, and withstood the Lacedaemonian onset for a little while; then they fled back, the Lacedaemonians pursuing and slaying them.

55. Now had all the Lacedaemonians there fought as valiantly that day as Archias and Lycopas, Samos had been taken. These two alone entered the fortress along with the fleeing crowd of Samians, and their way back being barred were then slain in the city of Samos. I myself have met in his native township of Pitana<sup>1</sup> another Archias (son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias afore-named), who honoured the Samians more than any other of his guest-friends, and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was the son of that Archias who was slain fighting gallantly at Samos. The reason of his honouring the Samians, he said, was that they had given his grandfather a public funeral.

<sup>1</sup> A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δῆμος; the Peloponnesian word would be κώμη.

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56. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρῆγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δέ ὁ ματαιώτερος λόγος δρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδον καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναι σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὗτοι δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηίην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποιήσαντο.

57. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον, χρημάτων γὰρ ἔδεοντο. τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρῆγματα ἥκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἀτε ἔοντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὗτοι ὅστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἄνακειται δῆμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρῆματα διενέμοντο. δτε ὧν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἵα τε ἔστι πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε.

“'Αλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήια λευκὰ γένηται λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορὴ, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρός φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ' ἐρυθρόν.”

τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήιον Παρίῳ λίθῳ ἡσκημένα.

56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilt leaden coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.<sup>1</sup>

57. When the Lacedaemonians were about to abandon them, the Samians who had brought an army against Polycrates sailed away too, and went to Siphnus; for they were in want of money; and the Siphnians were at this time very prosperous and the richest of the islanders, by reason of the gold and silver mines of the island. So wealthy were they that the treasury dedicated by them at Delphi, which is as rich as any there, was made from the tenth part of their revenues; and they made a distribution for themselves of each year's revenue. Now when they were making the treasury they enquired of the oracle if their present well-being was like to abide long; whereto the priestess gave them this answer:

"Siphnus, beware of the day when white is thy  
high prytaneum,  
White-browed thy mart likewise; right prudent  
then be thy counsel;  
Cometh an ambush of wood and a herald red to  
assail thee."

At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnus were adorned with Parian marble.

<sup>1</sup> Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.

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58. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἡσαν γυνῶναι οὔτε τότε εὐθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπεγμένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσῆσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπειτον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας ἄγουσσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἄπασαι αἱ νέες ἡσαν μιλτηλιφέες, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάξασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύοντα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πιθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἥκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἑσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληίσθησαν τοῦ ἀστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπρηξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἐρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ἄρδεην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. ἔμειναν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὑδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἵρα τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἔοντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν].<sup>1</sup> ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἴγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἥνδρα ποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἔχουσσέων τὰς πρώρας ἡκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἵρον τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχουστες Σαμίοισι

<sup>1</sup> Stein thinks καὶ . . . νηόν an interpolation; the temple of Dictyna was at some distance from Cydonia, and the cult was not a Greek one.

58. They could not understand this oracle either when it was spoken or at the time of the Samians' coming. As soon as the Samians put in at Siphnus, they sent ambassadors to the town in one of their ships; now in ancient times all ships were painted with vermillion<sup>1</sup>; and this was what was meant by the warning given by the priestess to the Siphnians, to beware of a wooden ambush and a red herald. The messengers, then, demanded from the Siphnians a loan of ten talents; which being refused, the Samians set about ravaging their lands. Hearing this the Siphnians came out forthwith to drive them off, but they were worsted in battle, and many of them were cut off from their town by the Samians; who presently exacted from them a hundred talents.

59. Then the Samians took from the men of Hermione, instead of money, the island Hydrea which is near to Peloponnesus, and gave it in charge to men of Troezen; they themselves settled at Cydonia in Crete, though their voyage had been made with no such intent, but rather to drive Zacynthians out of the island. Here they stayed and prospered for five years; indeed, the temples now at Cydonia and the shrine of Dictyna are the Samians' work; but in the sixth year came Aeginetans and Cretans and overcame them in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows, that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athene in Aegina. This the Aeginetans did out of a grudge against the Samians, who had begun the quarrel; for when

<sup>1</sup> μελανωδός: is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.

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Αἰγανῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος  
βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἴγιων  
μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγανήτας καὶ ἐπαθον ὑπ'  
ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἵτη αὕτη.

60. Ἐμήκινα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι  
τρία ἔστι μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἔξερ-  
γασμένα, ὅρεός τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ  
έκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξά-  
μενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὄρυγ-  
ματος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσί, τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὔρος  
οκτὼ ἑκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο  
ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὄρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ  
τὸ εὔρος, δι' οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν  
σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ  
μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὄρυγματος  
τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εύπαλινος Ναυστρόφου.  
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἔστι, δεύτερον δὲ  
περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι  
ὀργυιέων μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων.  
τρίτον δὲ σφι ἔξεργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων  
νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος  
ἐγένετο Ροΐκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἶνεκεν  
μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκινα.

61. Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ  
Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέαται  
ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, τῶν τὸν ἔτερον κατα-  
λελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος  
δὴ ὁν οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον  
ὡς κρύπτοιτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εἶησαν οἱ

Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

60. I have written thus at length of the Samians, because they are the makers of the three greatest works to be seen in any Greek land. First of these is the double-mouthed channel pierced for an hundred and fifty fathoms through the base of a high hill; the whole channel is seven furlongs long,<sup>1</sup> eight feet high and eight feet wide; and throughout the whole of its length there runs another channel twenty cubits deep and three feet wide, wherethrough the water coming from an abundant spring is carried by its pipes to the city of Samos. The designer of this work was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus, a Megarian. This is one of the three works; the second is a mole in the sea enclosing the harbour, sunk full twenty fathoms, and more than two furlongs in length. The third Samian work is the temple, which is the greatest that I have seen; its first builder was Rhoecus son of Philes, a Samian. It is for this cause that I have written at length more than ordinary of Samos.

61. Now after Cambyses son of Cyrus had lost his wits, while he still lingered in Egypt, two Magians, who were brothers, rebelled against him.<sup>2</sup> One of them had been left by Cambyses to be steward of his house; this man now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret,

<sup>1</sup> Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.

<sup>2</sup> The story dropped at ch. 38 is now taken up again.

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ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μιν εἶδείησαν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιλήοισι. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφέος, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκὼς μᾶλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἔόντα ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὅμοιος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὔνομα τώντο εἶχε Σμέρδιν. τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης ὡς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρῆξει, εἴσε πάγων ἐς τὸν βασιλήον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἴη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω.

62. Οἳ τε δὴ ὧν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, εὗρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔόντα τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτὸς τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε "Πρηξασπεῖ, οὗτῳ μοι διεπρῆξαο τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ω δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἡ μέγα ἡ σμικρόν ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Λαστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστῆσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἔστι δοσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τι τοι ἐκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστηγ. νῦν ὧν

and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power : he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion ; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death ; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him ; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne ; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

62. So this proclamation was everywhere made ; the herald appointed to go to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Agbatana in Syria, came out before them all and proclaimed the message given him by the Magian. When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that it was truth, and that Prexaspes, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not so done but played Cambyses false ; and he said, fixing his eyes on Prexaspes, "Is it thus, Prexaspes, that you did my behest?" "Nay," said Prexaspes, "this is no truth, sire, that your brother Smerdis has rebelled against you ; nor can it be that he will have any quarrel with you, small or great ; I myself did your bidding, and mine own hands buried him. If then the dead can rise, you may look to see Astyages the Mede rise up against you ; but if nature's order be not changed, assuredly no harm to you will arise from Smerdis. Now

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μοι δοκέει μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεῦντας παρ' ὅτευ ἡκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν."

63. Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἥρεσε γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μεταδιώκτος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ἢκεὶ ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἰρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε.

"Οὐνθρωπε, φὴς γὰρ ἡκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὧν εἴπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἀπιθεὶ χαιρῶν, κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς σύφιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἡ τῶν τις ἔκείνου ὑπηρετεών." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτευ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἥλασε ἐς Λῆγυπτον, οὐκω ὅπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετέλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἴναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἴπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ἐλεγει οὐδὲν ἐπικατέψευσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε "Πρηξασπεῖ, σὺ μὲν οἵα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἀν εἴη Πέρσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεὼς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὃ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τόν τε ἔλιπες μελεδωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις."

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὖνομα ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθείη τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινά οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἴξόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ψαύσει τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελφέον, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ

therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king."

63. Cambyses thought well of Prexaspes' counsel; the herald was pursued and brought; and when he came, Prexaspes put this question to him: "Sirrah, you say that your message is from Cyrus' son Smerdis; tell me this now, and you may go hence unpunished: was it Smerdis who himself appeared to you and gave you this charge, or was it one of his servants?" "Since King Cambyses marched to Egypt," answered the herald, "I have never myself seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus; the Magian whom Cambyses made overseer of his house gave me the charge, saying that it was the will of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, that I should make it known to you." So spoke the herald, telling the whole truth; and Cambyses said, "Prexaspes, I hold you innocent; you have done my bidding right loyally; but who can this Persian be who rebels against me and usurps the name of Smerdis?" Prexaspes replied, "I think, sire, that I understand what has been done here; the rebels are the Magians, Patizeithes whom you left steward of your house, and his brother Smerdis."

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother to no purpose, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,

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ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν  
νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι  
ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν  
ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει,  
γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν τρωματί-  
σθεῖς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν  
Αἰγυπτίων θέὸν Ἀπιν ἐπληξε, ως οἱ καιρίη ἔδοξε  
τετύφθαι, εἴρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῇ πόλι οὔνομα  
εἴη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρό-  
τερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατά-  
νοισι τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι  
Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσειν γηραι-  
ός, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ  
χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε  
ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ως τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς  
πόλιος τὸ οὔνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ  
τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος  
ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε  
“Ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον  
τελευτᾶν.”

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ως  
εἶκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Πέρσέων τῶν παρεόντων  
τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Ω Πέρσαι,  
καταλελαβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον  
πρήγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
ἐών ἐν Λιγύπτῳ εἰδον δύτιν ἐς τῷ ὑπνῳ, τὴν  
μηδαμὰ διφελον ἰδεῖν ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἀγγελον  
ἔλθόντα ἐξ οἰκου ἀγγέλλειν ως Σμέρδις ἴζόμενος  
ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον φαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ  
οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθέω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς  
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἡ σοφώτερα· ἐν  
τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίᾳ φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον

he leapt upon his horse, with intent to march forthwith to Susa against the Magian. As he mounted, the cap slipped off the scabbard of his sword, and the naked blade struck his thigh, wounding him in the same part where he himself had once smitten the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the blow to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Agbatana. Now a prophecy had ere this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Agbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Agbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Agbatana of Syria. So when he now enquired and learnt the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magian, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: "Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is doomed to die."

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days after, he sent for the most honourable of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: "Needs must, Persians! that I declare to you a matter which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision that I would I had never seen; methought a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne, his head reaching to heaven. Then I feared that my brother would take away from me my sovereignty, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for (as I now

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γίνεσθαι ἀποτρύπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα· ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σουσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἔξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταίη ἀνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἕστεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληίης οὐδὲν ἡσσον ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γάρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὅψι ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἔξεργασται μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἔόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληίων, τὸν τε Ἐλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μέν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἔμεν αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωντοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἔοντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὃ Πέρσαι γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον· καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκῆπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληίους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτὶς ἐς Μῆδους περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῷ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀναστώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῆ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέροι καὶ γυναικές τε καὶ ποιμναὶ τίκτοιεν, ἔοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι· μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένοισι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀναστῶξειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτωισι ὄρῶμαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτουσι τὸ τέλος

see) no human power can turn fate aside ; fool that I was ! I sent Prexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be ; I have slain my brother when there was no need, and lost my kingship none the less ; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives ; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then, he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magians lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman ; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands ; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again ; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring ; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go

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Περσέων ἐκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε." ἀμα τε εἴπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πρῆξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τά τε ἐσθῆτος ἔχόμενα εἰχον, ταῦτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἱ μωγῆ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ δστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἐπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἅπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἔόντα ἕρσενος καὶ θῆλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεούσι ἀπιστίῃ πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἰπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῆ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν. οὗτοι μέν νυν ἡπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνεστεῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσεω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου νίὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

67. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτῆσαντος Καμβύσεω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὄμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἐπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύση ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἡρχε προεῖπε ἀτέλείην εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία.

68. Προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος

contrariwise for you, yea, that every Persian may meet an end such as mine." With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had befallen him.

66. When the Persians saw their king weep, they all rent the garments which they wore and lamented loud and long. But after this the bone became gangrened and mortification of the thigh set in rapidly; which took off Cambyses son of Cyrus, who had reigned in all seven years and five months, and left no issue at all, male or female. The Persians present fully disbelieved in their hearts that the Magians were masters of the kingdom; they supposed that Cambyses' intent was to deceive them with his tale of Smerdis' death, so that all Persia might be plunged into a war against him. So they believed that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king. For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had killed Smerdis, since now that Cambyses was dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had slain the son of Cyrus with his own hands.

67. Cambyses being dead, the Magian, pretending to be the Smerdis of like name, Cyrus' son, reigned without fear for the seven months lacking to Cambyses' full eight years of kingship. In this time he greatly benefited all his subjects, in so much that after his death all the Asiatics except the Persians wished him back; for he sent hither and thither to every nation of his dominions and proclaimed them for three years freed from service in arms and from tribute.

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who

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τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὁτάνης ἡν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παις,  
γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων.  
οὗτος ὁ Ὁτάνης πρῶτος ὑπώπτευσε τὸν Μάγον  
ὡς οὐκ εἶη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὃς περ ἦν, τῇδε  
συμβλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἔξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκρο-  
πόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὅψιν ἐωυτῷ οὐδένα  
τῶν λογίμων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν ἐποίεε  
τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὔνομα  
ἡν Φαιδύμη· τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ  
Μάγος καὶ ταύτη τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῇσι ἄλλησι  
πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὴ  
ῶν ὁ Ὁτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυν-  
θάνετο παρ' ὅτεῳ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἴτε μετὰ  
Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. Η δέ  
οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν οὔτε γὰρ τὸν  
Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἴδεσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε δστις εἶη ὁ  
συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἐπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὁτάνης  
λέγων “Εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις,  
σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθευ ὅτεῳ τούτῳ συνοικέει  
αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ σύ πάντως γὰρ δή κου τὸν γε  
ἐωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει.”

69. Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ “Οὔτε  
Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην  
οὐδεμίᾳν ἴδεσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν.  
ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὄνθρωπος, δστις κοτὲ  
ἐστί, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας  
ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τάξας.” ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ  
Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην  
δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα.  
“Ω θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλα-  
βέσθαι τὸν ἀν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ  
δὴ μή ἐστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω

he was, and this is how it was done :—There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magian was not Cyrus' son Smerdis but his true self; the reason was, that he never left the citadel nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence; and in his suspicion—Cambyses having married Otanes' daughter Phaedyme, whom the Magian had now wedded, with all the rest of Cambyses' wives—Otanes sent to this daughter, asking with whom she lay, Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or another. She sent back a message that she did not know; for (said she) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor knew who was her bedfellow. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: “If you do not yourself know Cyrus' son Smerdis, then ask Atossa who is this that is her lord and yours; for surely she knows her own brother.”

69. To this his daughter replied: “I cannot get speech with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her appointed place.” When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: “Daughter, it is due to your noble birth that you should run any risk that your father bids you face. If this man be not Smerdis son of Cyrus, but

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έγώ, οὗτοι μν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαιρούτα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. νῦν ὧν ποίησον τάδε ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὡτα· καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνηται ἔχων ὡτα, οὐδίτε οὐεωτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι." ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἦν ποιέη ταῦτα· εἰ γάρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνει τὰ ὡτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς ἀιστώσει μν δρμας μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὡτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῇ. ἡ ὧν δὴ Φαιδύμη αὗτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὁτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπείτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γάρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ηὔδε, ὑπινωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἥφασε τὰ ὡτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὡτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70. 'Ο δὲ Ὁτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίην καὶ Γοθρύην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἔόντας καὶ ἐωντῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐσ πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευον οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαυτος δὲ τοῦ Ὁτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐδοξέ σφι ἔκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτεῳ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὁτάνης μέν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα,

another whom I suspect him to be, then he must not go unscathed, but be punished for sharing your bed and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore, when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep, do as I bid you and feel for his ears; if you see that he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magian." Phaedyme answered by messenger that she would run very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling for them, he would surely make an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to achieve her father's bidding. It is known that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave reason—I know not what. So Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian's wives come in regular order to their lord), she came to his bed and felt for the Magian's ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with no great difficulty assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into their fellowship that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-

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Γαβρίης δὲ Μεγάθυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρινα.  
γεγονότων δὲ τούτων δὲ παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα  
Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων τούτων  
γάρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαρχος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος  
ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον  
προστεταιρίσασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔόντες ἐπτὰ ἔδιδοσταν  
σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον  
ἀπίκετο γυώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε.  
“Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μοῦνος ἐπίστασθαι,  
ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἴη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ  
Κύρου τετελεύτηκε καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἶνεκεν ἥκω  
σπουδῆ ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον.  
ἐπείτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ  
μὴ μοῦνον ἐμέ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μὴ  
ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐ γάρ ἄμεινον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα  
ὁ Ὁτάνης “Ω παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρὸς  
ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἕοικας σεωυτὸν ἔόντα τοῦ  
πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἥσσω. τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύ-  
την μὴ οὔτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ  
σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γάρ πλεῦνας  
γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρέειν.” λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα  
Δαρεῖος “Ανδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
ἔξι Ὁτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε  
κάκιστα· ἔξοιστε γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἵδη  
περιβαλλόμενος ἐώντῳ κέρδεα. μᾶλιστα μέν νυν  
ῶφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιέειν  
ταῦτα· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἔδόκεε  
καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον ἢ ἵστε  
ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέση ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος  
φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλά σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ  
κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον.”

phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes<sup>1</sup>; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

71. The seven then met and gave each other pledges and spoke together; and when it was Darius' turn to declare his mind, he spoke as follows: "I supposed that I alone knew that it was the Magian who is king and that Smerdis son of Cyrus is dead; and it is for this cause that I have made haste to come, that I might compass the Magian's death; but since it has so fallen out that you too and not I alone know the truth, my counsel is for action forthwith, no delay; for evil will come of delay." "Son of Hystaspes," Otanes answered, "your father is a valiant man, and methinks you declare yourself as valiant as he; yet hasten not this enterprise thus inconsiderately; take the matter more prudently; we must wait to set about it till there are more of us." To this Darius answered: "Sirs, if you do as Otanes counsels, you must all know that you will perish miserably; for someone will carry all to the Magian, desiring private reward for himself. Now, it had been best for you to achieve your end yourselves unaided; but seeing that it was your pleasure to impart your plot to others and that so you have trusted me with it, let us, I say, do the deed this day; if you let to-day pass, be assured that none will accuse you ere I do, for I will myself lay the whole matter before the Magian."

<sup>1</sup> The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubaruwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.

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72. Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὁτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὅρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, “Ἐπείτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔᾶς, ἵθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλήμα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλακὰς γάρ δὴ διεστέωσας οἰδάς κου καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἴδων, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέῳ τρόπῳ περιήσομεν;” ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοῖσιδε. “Ὁτάνη, ἦ πολλά ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἴλα τε δηλῶσαι, ἔργῳ δέ ἄλλα δ' ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἴλα τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἵστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἔούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἡμέων ἔοντων τοιῶνδε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μέν κου καταδέομενος ἡμέας, τὰ δέ κου καὶ δειμαίνων τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἥκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλέι. ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλεχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείῃ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μέν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεάν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὗτοι οὐ ταῦτα ἀσκέοντες τώστοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὅμοιως ἀν δὲ ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδῆς εἶη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθῆς. δις ἀν μέν νυν τῶν πυλουρῶν ἐκὼν παρεῆ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· δις δὲ ἀν ἀντιβαίνειν πειράται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος, καὶ ἐπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργους ἔχώμεθα.”

73. Λέγει Γοβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα “Ἄνδρες φίλοι,

72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darjus, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truth-teller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

73. Then said Gobryas, "Friends, when shall we

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ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἡ εἰ γε μὴ οἷοι τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; δῆτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἔοντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὅτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. δοσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσησι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῆ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα. νῦν ὡν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ίθέως." ταῦτα εἶπε Γαβρύης, καὶ πάντες ταύτη αἴνεον.

74. Ἐν φ' δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβούλευοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, δῆτι τε ἐπεπόνθε πρὸς Καμβύσεω ἀνάρσια, ὃς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἡπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίη μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἔοντα ἐν αἷνῃ μεγίστη τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσησι. τούτων δὴ μιν εἴνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὄρκίουσι, ἡ μὲν ἔξειν παρ' ἑωυτῷ μηδὲ ἔξοισεν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονυῖαν, ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλήιον τεῖχος, κείνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεῦσαι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἀρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐμετέλ-

have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, and he a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyses in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyses, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

74. While they were thus planning, matters befell as I will show. The Magians had taken counsel and resolved to make a friend of Prexaspes, because he had been wronged by Cambyses (who had shot his son with an arrow) and because he alone knew of the death of Cyrus' son Smerdis, having himself been the slayer; and further, because Prexaspes was very greatly esteemed by the Persians. Therefore they summoned him and, to gain his friendship, made him to pledge himself and swear that he would never reveal to any man their treacherous dealing with the Persians, but keep it to himself; and they promised to give him all things in great abundance. Prexaspes was persuaded and promised to do their will. Then the Magians made this second proposal to him, that they should summon a meeting of all Persians before the palace wall, and he should go up on to a tower and declare that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia. They gave him this charge, because they thought him to

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λοντο ὡς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἔόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περιείη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ ἔχαρνησαμένου τὸν φονον αὐτοῦ.

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἑτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὃ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἔκεινοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἔκὼν ἐπελήθετο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἀγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐσ τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἔξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσησι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίατο ὅπιστω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίατο, ἀπῆκε ἐωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μέν νυν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

76. Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐπτὰ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἵσταν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέση στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτις σφίσι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὁτάνην πάγχυ κελευσοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπετί-

be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

75. Prexaspes consented to do this also; the Magians summoned the Persians together, and brought him up on to a tower and bade him speak. Then, putting away from his mind all the Magians' demands, he traced the lineage of Cyrus from Achaemenes downwards; when he came at last to the name of Cyrus, he recounted all the good which that king had done to Persia, after which recital he declared the truth; which, he said, he had till now concealed because he could not safely tell it, but was now constrained by necessity to reveal: "I," said he, "was compelled by Cambyses to kill Smerdis son of Cyrus; it is the Magians who now rule you." Then, invoking a terrible curse on the Persians if they failed to win back the throne and take vengeance on the Magians, he threw himself headlong down from the tower; thus honourably ended Prexaspes' honourable life.

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,

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θεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἵέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὡθιζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἐπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπτιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. Ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλία τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὅρνιστι.

77. Ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷόν τι Δαρεῖῳ ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρίεσαν θείη πομπῇ χρεωμένους, οὐδὲ ἐπειρώτα οὐδείς. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὔνούχοισι· οἱ σφέας ἴστόρεον ὃ τι θέλοιτες ἥκοιεν, καὶ ἀμα ἴστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλούροισι ἀπείλεον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, Ἰσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς Ἰσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτη συγκεντέονται, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤισαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρεῶνα.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι τηνικαῦτα ἔντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὧν εἶδον τοὺς εὔνουχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαιθον τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράποντο. ὃ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὃ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντε αὐτῶν, ἔόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν

but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

77. When they came to the gate, that happened which Darius had expected; the guards, out of regard for the chief men in Persia, and because they never suspected their design, suffered them without question to pass in under heaven's guidance. Coming into the court, they met there the eunuchs who carry messages to the king; who asked the seven with what intent they had come, at the same time threatening the gate-wards for letting them pass, and barring the further passage of the seven. These gave each other the word, drew their daggers, and stabbing the eunuchs who barred their way, ran into the men's apartment.

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and

χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνετο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὄφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὄφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὕτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἔτερος, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγίνετο, ἢν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο, Δαρεῖος τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεὼς ἡπόρεε οἰα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύην. ὅρέων δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἴρετο ὃ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῇ χειρὶ· δὲ εἶπε "Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μη πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο "Ωθεε τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσε τε τὸ ἔγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχε κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79. Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἔωστῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἴνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῆ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἔξηγεομενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ ἀμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τιὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονός ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἔδικαίενται καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα ποιέειν, σπασάμειοι δὲ τὰ ἔγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τιὰ Μάγον εὑρισκον· εἰ δὲ μη νῦν ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἀν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύ-

pressing him hard; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike; "For fear of stabbing you," quoth Darius. "Nay," said Gobryas, "thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us." So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

79. Having killed the Magians and cut off their heads, they left their wounded where they were, by reason of their infirmity and to guard the citadel; the other five took the Magians' heads and ran with much shouting and noise, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, when they heard from the seven what had been done and how the Magians had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and slew all the Magians they could find; and if nightfall had not stayed them they would not have left one Magian alive. This day is

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την τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄρτῃ μεγάλην ἀνάγουσσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῷ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἐωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβούλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἅπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ελλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ἄν. Ὁτάντης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσησι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. “Ἐμοὶ δοκέει ἔνα μὲν ἡμέων μουναρχὸν μηκέτι γενέσθαι. οὔτε γάρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἰδετε μὲν γάρ τὴν Καμβύσεω ὑβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὑβριος. κῶς δ' ἀν εἶη χρῆμα κατηρτημένον μουναρχίη, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γάρ ἀν τὸν ἀριστὸν ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γάρ οἱ ὑβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῆθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γάρ ὑβρις κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἀνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας πέφυκε· φθονέει γάρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἀριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων ἦν τε γάρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζης, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἦν τε θερα-

the greatest holyday that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no Magian may come abroad, but during this day they remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which words were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible; but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for giving the government to the whole body of the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths went the insolence of Cambyses, and you have borne your share of the insolence of the Magian. What right order is there to be found in monarchy, when the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to account for it? Give this power to the best man on earth, and it would stir him to unwonted thoughts. The advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is the root of all evil in him; sated with power he will do many reckless deeds, some from insolence, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe calumny. Of all men he is the most inconsistent; accord him but just honour, and he is displeased that you make him not your first care; make him such, and he damns

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πεύη τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἀτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαια τε κινέει πάτρια καὶ βιᾶται γυναικας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὔνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ιστονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μουναρχὸς ποιέει οὐδέν πάλι μὲν ἄρχας ἄρχει, ὑπειθυνον δὲ ἄρχὴν ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ παντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὡν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα.”

81. Ὄτανης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε Μεγάθυζος δὲ ὀλυγαρχίη ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε. “Τὰ μὲν Ὄτανης εἰπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω κάμοὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὅμιλον γὰρ ἀχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξινετωτερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. καίτοι τυράννουν ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἀνδρας ἐς δήμουν ἀκολάστον ὕβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιέει, γινώσκων ποιέει, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι· κῶς γὰρ ἀν γινώσκοι δις οὕτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὗτε εἰδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκήιον,<sup>1</sup> ὥθεει τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἴκελος; δῆμῳ μὲν τιν, οἱ Πέρσησι κακοὺς νοέουσι, οὗτοι χράσθων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὅμιλίην τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἄριστα βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι.”

82. Μεγάθυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐδὲν εὖδ’ οἰκήιον; Stein brackets εὖδ’, as giving a sense not here required. I omit it in translation.

you for a flatterer. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he turns the laws of the land upside down, he rapes women, he puts high and low to death. But the virtue of a multitude's rule lies first in its excellent name, which signifies equality before the law; and secondly, in that it does none of the things that a monarch does. All offices are assigned by lot, and the holders are accountable for what they do therein; and the general assembly arbitrates on all counsels. Therefore I declare my opinion, that we make an end of monarchy and increase the power of the multitude, seeing that all good lies in the many."

81. Such was the judgment of Otanes: but Megabyzus' counsel was to make a ruling oligarchy. "I agree," said he, "to all that Otanes says against the rule of one; but when he bids you give the power to the multitude, his judgment falls short of the best. Nothing is more foolish and violent than a useless mob; to save ourselves from the insolence of a despot by changing it for the insolence of the unbridled commonalty—that were unbearable indeed. Whatever the despot does, he does with knowledge; but the people have not even that; how can they have knowledge, who have neither learnt nor for themselves seen what is best, but ever rush headlong and drive blindly onward, like a river in spate? Let those stand for democracy who wish ill to Persia; but let us choose a company of the best men and invest these with the power. For we ourselves shall be of that company; and where we have the best men, there 'tis like that we shall have the best counsels."

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.

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τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπέδεικνυτο γνώμην, λέγων  
 Ὡς μοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβουζος ἐς τὸ πλήθος  
 ἔχοντα δοκέει ὄρθως λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην  
 οὐκ ὄρθως. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἔοντων, δῆμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ  
 ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν  
 λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον  
 ἀν φανείη γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος ἐπιτρο-  
 πεύοι ἀν ἀμωμῆτως τοῦ πλήθεος, σιγῇτό τε ἀν  
 βουλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μᾶλιστα.  
 ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς  
 τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθεα ἴδια ἵσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι  
 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι  
 γνώμησί τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι  
 ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
 στασίων φόνος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μου-  
 ναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε δσφ ἐστὶ τοῦτο  
 ἀριστον. δῆμου τε αὖ ἀρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ  
 κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγιω-  
 μένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι  
 κακοῖσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἵσχυραι· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ  
 κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο  
 γίνεται ἐς δὲ ἀν προστάς τις τοῦ δῆμου τοὺς τοιού-  
 τους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὗτος δὴ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν' ὃν ἐφάνη  
 μούναρχος ἐών, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς  
 ἡ μουναρχίη κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ πάντα συλ-  
 λαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο  
 καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κύτερα παρὰ τοῦ δῆμου ἡ ὀλ-

Darius was the third to declare his opinion. "Methinks," said he, "Megabyzus speaks rightly concerning democracy, but not so concerning oligarchy. For the choice lying between these three, and each of them, democracy, oligarchy and monarchy being supposed to be the best of its kind, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. Nothing can be found better than the rule of the one best man; his judgment being like to himself, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service oftentimes engenders bitter enmity among them; for each one wishing to be chief of all and to make his counsels prevail, violent enmity is the outcome, enmity brings faction and faction bloodshed; and the end of bloodshed is monarchy; whereby it is shown that this fashion of government is the best. Again, the rule of the commonalty must of necessity engender evil-mindedness; and when evil-mindedness in public matters is engendered, bad men are not divided by enmity but united by close friendship; for they that would do evil to the commonwealth conspire together to do it. This continues till someone rises to champion the people's cause and makes an end of such evil-doing. He therefore becomes the people's idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; so his case also proves that monarchy is the best government. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, whence and by whose gift came our freedom—from the commonalty or an oligarchy or a single

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γαρχίης ἡ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίσυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γάρ ἀμεινον.”

83. Γνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέστο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτην. ὡς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὁτάνης Πέρσης ἴστονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἐλεῖξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. “Ανδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γάρ δὴ ὅτε δεῖ ἔνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ὃις κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἣ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἄν ἐκεῖνο ἐληταί, ἣ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μέν νυν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι οὔτε γάρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἄρχῆς, ἐπ' ὃ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι.” τούτου εἴπαντος ταῦτα ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἔξ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου κατῆστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελέει μούνη ἐλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτῇ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβούλευοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιότατα στήσονται· καὶ σφι ἔδοξε Ὁτάνης μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὁτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, ἦν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐλθη ἡ βασιλήη, ἔξαιρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἡ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσησι τιμιωτάτῃ. τοῦδε δὲ εἰνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὁτάνης ἔξαιρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν,

ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

83. Having to judge between these three opinions, four of the seven declared for the last. Then Otanes, his proposal to give the Persians equality being defeated, thus spoke among them all: "Friends and partisans! seeing that it is plain that one of us must be made king (whether by lot, or by our suffering the people of Persia to choose whom they will, or in some other way), know that I will not enter the lists with you; I desire neither to rule nor to be ruled; but if I waive my claim to be king, I make this condition, that neither I nor any of my posterity shall be subject to any one of you." To these terms the six others agreed; Otanes took no part in the contest but stood aside; and to this day his house (and none other in Persia) remains free, nor is compelled to render any unwilling obedience, so long as it transgresses no Persian law.

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of

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παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλήια πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἄνευ ἑσταγγελέος, ἢν μὴ τυγχάνῃ εῦδων μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἔξειναι ἀλλοθεν τῷ βασιλέι ἡ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε ὅτευ ἀν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξηται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

85. Δαρείῳ δὲ ἦν ἴπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπείτε διελύθησαν, ἐλεῖτε Δαρεῖος τάδε. "Οἰβαρεῖ, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληίης ποιέειν κατὰ τάδε ὅτευ ἀν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγξηται ἀμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην. νῦν ων εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ώς ἀν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις." ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῦσιδε. "Εἰ μὲν δὴ ω δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἡ βασιλέα εἶναι ἡ μή, θάρσεε τούτου εἶνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, ώς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἐσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα." λέγει Δαρεῖος "Εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρη μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ώς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἄγων ἡμῖν ἐστί." ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιέει τοιόνδε ώς ἐγίνετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἵππος ἐστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείον ἵππον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ ἐγχρίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον.

86. "Αμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ οἱ ἔξ κατὰ συνεθήκαντο παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων διεξελα-

them alike they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he so wished, enter the king's palace unannounced, save if the king were sleeping with a woman ; and that it should be forbidden to the king to take a wife saving from the households of the conspirators. As concerning the making of a king, they resolved that he should be elected whose horse, when they were all mounted in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.

85. Now Darius had a clever groom, whose name was Oebares. When the council broke up, Darius said to him : " Oebares, in the matter of the kingship, we are resolved that he shall be king whose horse, when we are all mounted, shall first neigh at sunrise. Now do you devise by whatever cunning you can that we and none other may win this prize." " Master," Oebares answered, " if this is to determine whether you be king or not, you have no cause to fear ; be of good courage ; no man but you shall be king ; trust my arts for that." " Then," said Darius, " if you have any trick such as you say, set about it without delay, for to-morrow is the day of decision." When Oebares heard that he did as I will show. At nightfall he brought a mare that was especially favoured by Darius' horse, and tethered her in the suburb of the city ; then bringing in Darius' horse, he led him round her near, so as ever and anon to touch her, and at last let the stallion have his way with the mare.

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the

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νόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχούμενης μυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θῆλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖον ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἔχρεμέτισε· ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίης καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτέλεωσέ μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρεῖον.

87. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανῆσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὡς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαντας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὡς δὲ ἀμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιοντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88. Δαρεῖος τε δὴ οἱ Τστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἡσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένον καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατηκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσηστι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀκόρτων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἀν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμεε Πέρσησι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας "Ατοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν "Ατοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύση τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρβένοντα ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὁτάνεω

suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

87. Some say that this was Oebares' plan; but there is another story in Persia besides this: that he touched the mare with his hand, and then kept it hidden in his breeches till the six were about to let go their horses at sunrise; when he took his hand out and held it to the nostrils of Darius' horse, which forthwith snorted and whinnied.

88. So Darius son of Hystaspes was made king,<sup>1</sup> and the whole of Asia, which Cyrus first and Cambyses after him had subdued, was made subject to him, except the Arabians; these did not yield the obedience of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, as having given Cambyses passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians. Darius took wives from the noblest houses of Persia, marrying Cyrus' daughters Atossa and Artystone; Atossa had been wife of her brother Cambyses and afterwards of the Magian, Artystone was a virgin. He married also Parmys, daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis, and that daughter of Otanes who had discovered

<sup>1</sup> 521 B.C.

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θυγατέρα, ἡ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμιος τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μὲν νῦν τύπου ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε· ζῷον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνὴρ ἵππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “Δαρεῖος ὁ Τστάσπεος σύν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἄρετῇ” τὸ οὔνομα λέγων “καὶ Οἰθάρεος τοῦ ἵπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην.”

89. Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶς καλέουσι σατραπήιας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεα τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἕκαστέρω ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων. ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεῖδε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοϊδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μνέας.<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτη ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατήρ, ὃ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὃ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπός τε ἦν καὶ δλίγωρος, ὃ δὲ ὅτι ἡπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθά σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have Εὐβοῖδας ἑβδομήκοντα μνίας; but the reading given is now generally adopted. As the weight-relation of the Persian silver stater to the Persian gold stater—the unit, of which 3000 composed the talent—was 3 : 4, the

the truth about the Magian; and the whole land was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, whereon was graven the figure of a horseman, with this inscription: "Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse" (here followed the horse's name) "and of Oebares his groom, won the kingdom of Persia."

89. Having so done in Persia, he divided his dominions into twenty governments, called by the Persians satrapies<sup>1</sup>; and doing so and appointing governors, he ordained that each several nation should pay him tribute; to this end he united each nation with its closest neighbours, and, beyond these nearest lands, assigned those that were farther off some to one and some to another nation. I will now show how he divided his governments and the tributes which were paid him yearly. Those that paid in silver were appointed to render the weight of a Babylonian talent; those that paid in gold, an Euboic talent; the Babylonian talent being equal to seventy-eight Euboic minae. In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is by reason of this fixing of tribute, and other like ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the huckster, Cambyses the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyses was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and ever wrought for their well-being.

<sup>1</sup> On the following list see the introduction to this book.

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total silver or Babylonian talent equalled  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.

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90. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰάνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μελιέων καὶ Παμφύλων (εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι οὗτοι φόρος) προσήμε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρώτος οὗτος οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Ττεινέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἔξικοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἔξικοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώρην ἀναστιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἔξικοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.

91. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδονίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἰκιστε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἴγυπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἴγυπτον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἐπτακόσια προσήμε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρουμένου] σίτου προσήμε

90. The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytennians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. An hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius.

91. The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochus son of Amphiaraus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenice, and the part of Syria called Palestine, and Cyprus. The sixth province was Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all which were included in the province of Egypt. Hence came seven hundred talents, besides the revenue of silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver and the measure of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for an

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έπτακόσια τάλαιτα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς τώτῳ τεταγμένοι ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαιτα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρης τριηκόσια· νομὸς δύοδος οὗτος.

92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης χίλια οἱ προσήιε τάλαιτα ἀργυρίου καὶ παιδες ἑκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἴνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγθατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὁρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαιτα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι καὶ Παπτίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τώτῳ συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαιτα ἀπαγγίνεον· νομὸς ἑνδέκατος οὗτος.

93. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαιτα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὔξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαιτα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Ούτιων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει θασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἔξακόσια τάλαιτα ἐγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγγίνεον τάλαιτα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε

hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadiceae, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

92. Babylon and the rest of Assyria rendered to Darius a thousand talents of silver and five hundred boys to be eunuchs; this was the ninth province; Agbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and was the tenth province. The eleventh comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae, paying jointly two hundred;

93. The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Paetyc country and Armenia and the lands adjoining thereto as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the dwellers on those islands of the southern sea wherein the king plants the people said to be "removed"<sup>1</sup>; these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians,

<sup>1</sup> The regular term for the peoples or individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the *āra-* implying removal from the sea to the highlands.

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καὶ Ἀρειοι τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.

94. Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Λίθιοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγύνεον· νομὸς ἔβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς δύοδος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Μόσχαισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρωσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο· νομὸς εἴνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθος τε πολλῷ πλεῖστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρου ἀπαγύνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαθυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὄγδωκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα·<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὑρίσκεται ἐὸν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὄγδωκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιων. τούτων ὧν πάντων συντίθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρου Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δὲ ἔτε τούτων Ἐλασσον ἀπιεὶς οὐ λέγω.

96. Οὗτος Δαρείῳ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν· προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have τετταράκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια καὶ εἰν. τ.; but the alteration given here is generally accepted and is necessary in view of the total given below. The 19 tributes

Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred.

94. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia, being the seventeenth, paid four hundred; the Matieni, Saspiri, and Alarodii were the eighteenth, and two hundred talents were the appointed tribute. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci, and Marcs, the nineteenth province, were ordered to pay three hundred. The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation known to me, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.

95. Now if these Babylonian silver talents be reckoned in Euboic money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty Euboic talents: and the gold coin being counted as thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold-dust is found to be of the worth of four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboic talents. Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents; I take no account of figures less than ten.

96. This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on he drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe, as far as Thessaly. The tribute is stored by

make up 7,600 Babylonian talents, that is, on the 3:4 relation (see ch. 89), 9,880 Euboic talents; add the Indian tribute (4,680 talents) and the total is 14,560.

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οίκημένων. τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίους τήξας κατάχεει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἀν ἔκάστοτε δέηται.

97. Αὗται μὲν ἀρχαὶ τε ἡσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξιες. ἡ Περσὶς δὲ χώρῃ μούνῃ μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γάρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρην. οἵδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Λίθιοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγυπτώ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, οἵ τε<sup>1</sup> περὶ τε Νύσην τὴν ἵρην κατοίκηται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὄρτας. [οὗτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τουτοισι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλαντίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγαια.]<sup>2</sup> οὗτοι συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχεῖς μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γάρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσηστι ἀρχεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Βορέην ἀνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει), οὗτοι ὡν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας

<sup>1</sup> οἵ τε; MSS. οἵ; Stein places a lacuna before οἵ, because the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt did not, he says, live near Nysa; at the same time he suggests the easy correction οἵ τε, which I adopt.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are probably a commentator's note drawn from ch. 101. The Καλλαντίαι are obviously the Καλλατίαι of ch. 38.

### BOOK III. 96-97

the king in this fashion : he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels ; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money coins as much as will serve his purpose.

97. These were the several governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary ; for the Persians dwell free from all taxes. As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians ; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa,<sup>1</sup> where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. [The seed of these Ethiopians and their neighbours is like the seed of the Indian Callantiae ; they live underground.] These together brought every other year and still bring a gift of two choenixes<sup>2</sup> of unrefined gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians) ; these were rendered every four years and are still so rendered, namely, an hundred boys and as many maidens.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the mountain called Barkal in Upper Nubia ; this is called "sacred" in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.

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καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλέι ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὐ τὸ ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλέι τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιφδε κτῶνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἥῶ καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοῖ. Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ ἐρημή ἔστι διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὄμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὐ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὡμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὄρμῳ μενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοιῶν ἔκαστον ποιέεται. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοινην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99. "Αλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἥῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρέων ἐδεσταὶ ὡμῶν, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῦσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἀν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἦν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἄνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μᾶλιστά οἱ ὄμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίσι· διαφθείρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἀπαρνος ἔστι μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται. Η δὲ ἀν γυνὴ κάμη, ώσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μᾶλιστα γυναικες ταῦτα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ

The Arabians rendered a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly. Such were the gifts of these peoples to the king, besides the tribute.

98. All this abundance of gold, whence the Indians send the aforesaid gold-dust to the king, they win in such manner as I will show. All to the east of the Indian country is sand; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia; for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand. There are many Indian nations, none speaking the same language; some of them are nomads, some not; some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish, which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed.<sup>1</sup> These Indians wear clothes of rushes; they mow and cut these from the river, then plait them crosswise like a mat, and put it on like a breastplate.

99. Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when any of their countryfolk male or female are sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that they lose his flesh by the wasting of the disease; though he denies that he is sick, yet they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick she is put to death like the men by the women who most consort with her. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh;

<sup>1</sup> Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.

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πολλοὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν  
ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

100. Ἐτέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὅδε ἄλλος τρόπος.  
οὗτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὔτε τι σπείρουσι  
οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσι τε·  
καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν  
κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέ-  
γοντες αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι ἔψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται.  
δις δ' ἀν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἀλθὼν ἐς τὴν  
ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀποθα-  
νόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος.

101. Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα  
πάντων ἐμφανῆς ἐστι κατά περ τῶν προβάτων,  
καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παρ-  
πλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίειται  
ἐς τὰς γυναικας, οὐ κατά περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων  
ἐστὶ λευκῆ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατά περ τὸ χρῶμα.  
τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίειται θορήν. οὗτοι  
μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι  
καὶ πρὸς οὐτούς ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλίος  
οὐδαμά ὑπήκουουσαν.

102. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι  
καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσωροι, πρὸς  
ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν  
ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι  
διαιταν. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ  
οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι· κατὰ  
γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἔρημίη διὰ τὴν ψύμμον. ἐν δὴ  
ῶν τῇ ἔρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψύμμῳ γίνονται  
μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κινῶν μὲν ἀλάσσονα  
ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ  
βασιλέι τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι

but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

100. There are other Indians, again, who kill no living creature, nor sow, nor are wont to have houses; they eat grass, and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its husk, about the size of a millet-seed, which they gather with the husk and boil and eat. When any one of them falls sick he goes into the desert and lies there, none regarding whether he be sick or die.

101. These Indians of whom I speak have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not white like other men's, but black like their skin, and resembles in this respect that of the Ethiopians. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians southwards, and were no subjects of King Darius.

102. Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Paetyle country,<sup>1</sup> northward of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold; for in these parts all is desert by reason of the sand. There are found in this sandy desert ants<sup>2</sup> not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught

<sup>1</sup> N.E. Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.

<sup>2</sup> It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.

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ῶν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἰκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ πέρ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλησι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἔστι χρυσίτις. ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλουσι τέ τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευξάμενος ἔκαστος καμῆλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἔκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θῆλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἡσσονες ἐς ταχυτῆτα εἰσὶ, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι "Ελλησι οὐ συγγράφω· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὄπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηροὺς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τά τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὄπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τροπῷ τοιουτῷ καὶ ζεύξι τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅκως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἔοντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δὲ ἔστι ὁ ἥλιος τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἔωθινόν, οὐ κατά πέρ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι μεσαμβρίης, ἄλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τῇν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτῳ ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς ἔστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς. ἀποκλιμομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίης γίνεται σφι ὁ ἥλιος

there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

103. I do not describe the camel's appearance to Greeks, for they know it; but I will show them a thing which they do not know concerning it: the hindlegs of the camel have four thighbones and four knee-joints; its privy parts are turned towards the tail between the hindlegs.

104. Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, using all diligence that they shall be about the business of taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight underground. Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is well nigh the same in India and elsewhere. As it grows to afternoon, the sun of

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κατά περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ὁ ἑωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπίὸν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει.

105. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χῶρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὅπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρημκες ὁδοῦ, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ ἔτερῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἴ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν φέτος μύρημκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἀν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μέν νυν ἕρσενας τῶν καμῆλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἡσσονας θέειν τῶν θηλέων, παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὅμοιοι ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμησκομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόνται μαλακὸν οὐδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανώτερος ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὄρυσσόμενος.

106. Άλι δ' ἐσχατιαὶ καὶ τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατά περ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὤρας πολλὸν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἔλαχε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομειέων ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἔστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλῷ μέζω ἡ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι ἔστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων), τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἀπλετος αὐτόθι ἔστι, ὃ μὲν ὄρυσσόμενος, ὃ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, δὲ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἀρπαζόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἵρια καλλονῆ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῆ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οίων.

India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

105. So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and ride away back with all speed; for, as the Persians say, the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being, it would seem, so much swifter than all other creatures that if the Indians made not haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape. So they loose the male trace-camels as they begin to lag, one at a time (these being slower than the females); the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians; there is some besides that they dig from mines in their country, but it is less abundant.

106. It would seem that the fairest blessings have been granted to the most distant nations of the world, whereas in Hellas the seasons have by much the kindest temperature. As I have lately said, India lies at the world's most distant eastern limit; and in India all living creatures four-footed and flying are by much bigger than those of other lands, except the horses, which are smaller than the Median horses called Nesaeian; moreover the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers or got as I have shown, is very abundant. There too there grows on wild trees wool more beautiful and excellent than the wool

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καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δευδρέων χρέωνται.

107. Πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν μεταμβρίης ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἔστι, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανώτος τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μέν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνας Φοίνικες ἔξαγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ γὰρ δένδρα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εῖδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἔκαστον, οὗτοι οἱ περ ἐπ' Λίγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὓδεν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δευδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

108. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἄν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὄφιών τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἶον τι κατὰ τὰς ἔχιδνας ἥπιστά μην γίνεσθαι. καὶ κως τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἔστι, ἐδῦσα σοφῇ, ὅσα μὲν<sup>1</sup> ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μέν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὅρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὗτοι δῆ τι πολύγονον ἔστι· ἐπικυνίσκεται μούνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

<sup>1</sup> ὅσα μὲν γὰρ γάρ MSS.; Stein brackets γάρ, which obviously has no place here.

of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

107. Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries: and this is the only country which yields frankincense and myrrh and cassia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these but myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. They gather frankincense by burning that storax<sup>1</sup> which Phoenicians carry to Hellas; this they burn and so get the frankincense; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied colour, many round each tree; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing save the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees.

108. The Arabians also say that the whole country would be full of these snakes were it not with them as I have heard that it is with vipers. It would seem that the wisdom of divine Providence (as is but reasonable) has made all creatures prolific that are timid and fit to eat, that they be not diminished from off the earth by being eaten up, whereas but few young are born to creatures cruel and baneful. The hare is so prolific, for that it is the prey of every beast and bird and man; alone of all creatures it conceives in pregnancy; some of the unborn young are hairy, some still naked, some are still forming in the womb while others are just conceived. But whereas this is so with

<sup>1</sup> A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.

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τοιοῦτο ἔστι· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἴσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἄπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἐν τίκτουσα γάρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε ἔστι· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἀρχηται διακινεόμενος, οὐδὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μῆτρας, αὔξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἔστι, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιεῖς οὐδέν.

109. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναι τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοισι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιες εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φυσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἀν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορυβῶνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἡ θήλεα ἀπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ ἀνεῖ πρὶν ἀν διαφάγῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσεν· τῷ γονέι τιμωρέοντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἔοντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφιες ἔοντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσί τε φὰ καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλὸν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ὄφιες ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

110. Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίην ὥδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέη, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ

the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

109. It is so too with vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia: were they born in the natural manner of serpents no life were possible for men; but as it is, when they pair, and the male is in the very act of generation, the female seizes him by the neck, nor lets go her grip till she has bitten the neck through. Thus the male dies; but the female is punished for his death; the young avenge their father, and gnaw at their mother while they are yet within her; nor are they dropped from her till they have eaten their way through her womb. Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be many; but it is because (whereas there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are nowhere else found.

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it live

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αὐλίζεται κου θηρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην.

111. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἦτις μιν γῆ ἡ τρέφουσα ἐστί, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότε χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διονυσος ἑτράφη· δρυιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς δρυιθας ἐς νεοστιάς προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι δρεστι, ἐνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν είναι. πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφεας θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοστιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ δρυιθας καταπετομένας<sup>1</sup> τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοστιάς, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἵσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδμοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστί· τῶν γὰρ αὐγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωσι εὑρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἶον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑλῆς. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί, θυμιῶσι τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

<sup>1</sup> καταπετομένας [οὐτῶν] Stein.

certain winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak shrilly and make a stout resistance ; these must be kept from the men's eyes if the casia is to be plucked.

111. As for cinnamon, they gather it in a fashion even stranger. Where it grows and what kind of land nurtures it they cannot say, save that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysus was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these dry sticks which the Phoenicians have taught us to call cinnamon, and carry them off to nests built of mud and attached to precipitous crags, to which no man can approach. The Arabian device for defeating the birds is to cut into very large pieces dead oxen and asses and other beasts of burden, then to set these near the eyries, withdrawing themselves far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the pieces of the beasts up to their nests ; which not being able to bear the weight break and fall down the mountain side ; and then the Arabians come up and gather what they seek. Thus is cinnamon said to be gathered, and so to come from Arabia to other lands.

112. But gum-mastieh, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it ; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like tree-gum. This is used in the making of many perfumes ; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn as incense.

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113. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυμωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω. ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ώς ἥδυ. δύο δὲ γένεα ὁίων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἔτέρωθι ἐστί. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακράς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἰ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκειν, Ἐλκεα ἀν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τὴν γῆ τῶν οὐρέων νῦν δὲ ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργέειν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῆσι, ἐνὸς ἕκαστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἔτερον γένος τῶν ὁίων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114. Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίης παρίκει πρὸς δύνιοντα ἥδιον ἡ Αἰθιοπίη χώρη ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115. Αὗται μὲν νῦν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαὶ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἡριδανὸν καλέεσθαι πρὸς Βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς Βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτεν τὸ ἡλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστί, οὔτε νήσους οίδα Κασσιτερίδας ἔούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὧν κασσιτερος ἥμιν φοιτᾶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὡς Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸς κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὖνομα ώς ἐστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέντο τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα

113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has a tail a full cubit broad.

114. Where south inclines westwards, the part of the world stretching farthest towards the sunset is Ethiopia; here is great plenty of gold, and abundance of elephants, and all woodland trees, and ebony; and the people are the tallest and fairest and longest-lived of all men.

115. These then are the most distant parts of the world in Asia and Libya. But concerning the farthest western parts of Europe I cannot speak with exactness; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, whence our amber is said to come, nor have I any knowledge of Tin-islands, whence our tin is brought. The very name of the Eridanus bewrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet; nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe. This only we

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Εύρωπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὡν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ καὶ τὸ ἥλεκτρον.

116. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εύρωπης πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐών· ὅκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν γυρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅκως μουνοφθάλμοι ἄνδρες φύουνται, φύσιν ἔχουτες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· αἱ δὲ ὡν ἐσχατιαὶ οἰκαστι, περικληγίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὗται.

117. "Εστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλημένον ὅρει πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὅρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὔροισι ἐὸν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ἄρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέος. ἐκ δὴ ὡν τοῦ περικληγίουτος ὅρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ "Ακης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἀρδεσκε διαλελαμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοισι· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὅρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ' ἐκάστη διασφάγῃ ἐστησε· ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὄντος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῆ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὡν οἱ περ ἐμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν

know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

116. This is also plain, that to the north of Europe there is by far more gold than elsewhere. In this matter again I cannot with certainty say how the gold is got; some will have it that one-eyed men called Arimaspians steal it from griffins. But this too I hold incredible, that there can be men in all else like other men, yet having but one eye. Suffice it that it is but reasonable that the most distant parts of the world, as they enclose and wholly surround all other lands, should have those things which we deem best and rarest.

117. There is in Asia a plain surrounded by mountains, through which mountains there are five clefts.<sup>1</sup> This plain belonged formerly to the Chorasmians; it adjoins the land of the Chorasmians themselves, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians, and Thamanaei; but since the Persians have held sway it has been the king's own land. Now from the encircling mountains flows a great river called Aces. Its stream divides into five channels, and watered formerly the lands of the peoples aforesaid by passing to them severally through the five clefts; but since the beginning of the Persian rule the king has blocked the mountain clefts, and closed each passage with a gate; the water thus barred from outlet, the plain within the mountains becomes a lake, seeing that the river pours into it and finds no way out. Those therefore who formerly used

<sup>1</sup> All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say Messrs. How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."

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χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὅδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὑεὶ σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρῆσκονται τῷ ὅδατι. ἐπεὰν ὧν μηδέν σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναικες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος βοῶσι ὡρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας. ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὐται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληίονται, ἄλλας δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

118. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἕνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἡθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλήια ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλέι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὗτο εἰχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστάσι τῷ Μάγῳ ἐσοδον εἴναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνευ-ἀγγέλου, ἦν μη γυναικὶ τυγχάνη μισγόμενος βασιλεύς. οὐκων δὴ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσιέναι ἡθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας φεύδεα λέγειν ποιέει τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τά τε ὡτα καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε.

the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.

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119. Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλέῖ δεικνύουσι ἑωυτοὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἰπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἶησαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀρρωδήσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἔξ πεποιηκότες ἔωσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἵνα ἔκαστον ἀπεπειρᾶτο γυνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοι εἰσὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεποιηκάς, ἐλαβε αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος κλαίεσκε ἄν καὶ ὁδυρέσκετο ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τώντο τούτο τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐπεισε οἰκτεῖραι μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἐλεγε τάδε· “Ω γύναι, βασιλεύς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηίων ρύσασθαι τὸν βουλεαὶ ἐκ πάντων.” Ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε· “Εἰ μὲν δή μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἐνὸς τὴν ψυχήν, αἴρεομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν.” πυθομένος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἥγόρευε “Ω γύναι, εἰρωτᾶ σε βασιλεύς, τίνα ἔχουσα γυνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιπούσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἶλεν περιεῖναι τοι, ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἡσσον κεχαριτμένος τοῦ ἄνδρός ἐστι.” Ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε. “Ω βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μέν μοι ἄν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλλοιμ· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκέτι μεν ζωόντων ἀδελφεὸς ἄν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτη τῇ γυνώμῃ χρέωμένη ἐλέξα ταῦτα.” εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέοτο καὶ τῶν παίδων

119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed ; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household—for he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting ; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion ; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomsoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her : " Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." " O King," she answered, " another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these ; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother ; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good ; he delivered to the woman him for

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τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐπτὰ εἰς αὐτίκα  
τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

120. Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεω  
νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν  
Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀρούτης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· οὗτος  
ἐπεθύμησε πρῆγματος οὐκ ὁσίου· οὔτε γάρ τι  
παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυ-  
κράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἴδων πρότερον, ἐπεθύμεε  
λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ώς μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες λέγουσι,  
διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων  
κατήμενον τὸν τε Ὀρούτεα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ  
οὖνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἀρχοντα τοῦ ἐν  
Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπε-  
σεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτρο-  
βάτεα τῷ Ὀρούτῃ προφίροντα "Σὺ γάρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν  
λόγῳ, διὸ βασιλέι τῆσον Σάμου πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ  
προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὅδε δή τι ἔοῦσαν  
εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεν-  
τεκαίδεκα ὥπλιτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς  
τυραννεύει;" οἱ μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα  
καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὄνειδει ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω  
τὸν εἴπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ώς Πολυκράτεα  
πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὃντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

121. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀρούτεα  
ἐς Σάμου κήρυκα ὅτευ δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον  
(οὐ γάρ ὡς δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυ-  
κράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι  
δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήμον· καὶ κως εἴτ' ἐκ  
προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀρούτεω πρή-  
γματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχιη τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο·  
τὸν τε γάρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀρούτεω παρελθόντα

whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

120. What I will now relate happened about the time of Cambyses' sickness. The viceroy of Sardis appointed by Cyrus was Oroetes, a Persian. This man purposed to do a great wrong; for though he had received no hurt by deed or word from Polycrates of Samos, nor had even seen him, he formed the desire of seizing and killing him. The reason alleged by most was this:—As Oroetes and another Persian, Mitrobates by name, governor of the province at Dascyleium, sat by the king's door, they fell from talk to wrangling and comparing of their several achievements: and Mitrobates taunted Oroetes, saying, "You are not to be accounted a man; the island of Samos lies close to your province, yet you have not added it to the king's dominion—an island so easy to conquer that some native of it rose against his rulers with fifteen men at arms, and is now lord of it."<sup>1</sup> Some say that Oroetes, angered by this taunt, was less desirous of punishing the utterer of it than of by all means destroying the reason of the reproach, namely Polycrates.

121. Others (but fewer) say that when Oroetes sent a herald to Samos with some request (it is not said what this was), the herald found Polycrates lying in the men's apartments, in the company of Anacreon of Teos; and, whether by design to show contempt for Oroetes, or by mere chance, when Oroetes' herald

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 39.

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διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰς ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οῦτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οῦτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

122. Αἴτιαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὄκοτέρη τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὁν Ὁροίτης ἵζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένῃ ἐπεμπε Μύρσου τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἔστι πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωος τε τοῦ Κυωσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπήνης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλαῖς ἔχων Ἰωιίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. μαθὼν ὅν ταῦτα μιν διανοεύμενον ὁ Ὁροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ὁροίτης Πολυκράτεϊ ὥδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ὥδε ποιήσας ὄρθωσεις μὲν σεωντόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἔξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως. σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἕα ἔχειν εἰνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον δοτις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω.”

123. Ταῦτα ἀκούστας Πολυκράτης ἤσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως ἴμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαι-

entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

122. These are the two reasons alleged for Polycrates' death; believe which you will. But the upshot was that Oroetes, being then at Magnesia which stands above the river Maeander, sent Myrsus, son of Gyges, a Lydian, with a message to Samos, having learnt Polycrates' purpose; for Polycrates was the first Greek, of whom I have knowledge, to aim at the mastery of the sea, leaving out of account Minos of Cnossus and any others who before him held maritime dominion; of such as may be called men Polycrates was the first so to do, and he had great hope of making himself master of Ionia and the Islands. Learning then that such was his intent, Oroetes sent him this message: "These from Oroetes to Polycrates:—I learn that you plan great enterprises, and that you have not money sufficient for your purpose. Do then as I counsel and you will make yourself to prosper and me to be safe. King Cambyses designs my death; of this I have clear intelligence. Now if you will bring me away with my money, you may take part of it for yourself and leave the rest with me; thus shall you have wealth enough to rule all Hellas. If you mistrust what I tell you of the money, send your trustiest minister and I will prove it to him."

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,

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ανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, δειπνοῖς οἵ τε γραμματιστῆς·  
δειπνῷ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον  
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἔοιτα  
ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ "Ηραιον. ὁ δὲ  
Ὀρούτης μαβῶν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἔοιτα προσδό-  
κιμον ἐποίεε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὅκτω πληρώσας  
λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ  
χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε,  
καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἑτοίμας. ἐλθὼν  
δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπίγγειλε τῷ  
Πολυκράτει.

124. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορεύ-  
όντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἴδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅψιν ἐμυπνίου  
τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον  
ἔοιτα λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ<sup>τοῦ</sup> ἥλιου. ταύτην ἴδοῦσα τὴν ὅψιν παντοὶ ἐγί-  
νετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν  
Ὀρούτεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντη-  
κόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὃ δέ οἱ ἡπείλησε, ἦν σῶς  
ἀπονοστῆσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι.  
ἡ δὲ ἡρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι  
γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς  
ἐστερῆσθαι.

125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίης ἀλο-  
γῆσας ἐπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀρούτεα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος  
ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ  
Δημοκῆδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιῆτην ἄνδρα,  
ἱητρὸν τε ἔοιτα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα  
τῶν κατ' ἔωντόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνη-  
σίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὕτε ἔωντοῦ  
ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἔωντοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ

Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to look into the matter; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid adornment of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. When Oroetes heard that an inspection was to be looked for, he filled eight chests with stones, saving only a very shallow layer at the top; then he laid gold on the surface of the stones, made the chests fast and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master.

124. Polycrates then prepared to visit Oroetes, despite the strong dissuasion of his diviners and friends, and a vision seen by his daughter in a dream; she dreamt that she saw her father aloft in the air, washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun; after this vision she used all means to persuade him not to go on this journey to Oroetes; even as he went to his fifty-oared ship she prophesied evil for him. When Polycrates threatened her that if he came back safe, she should long remain a virgin, she answered with a prayer that his threat might be fulfilled: for she would rather, she said, be long left a virgin than lose her father.

125. But Polycrates would listen to no counsel. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Crotona and the most skilful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was foully murdered, making an end which ill beseemed himself and his pride; for,

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οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιος ἐστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπείην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἄξιος ἀπηγγίσιος Ὁροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε τῶν δέ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἔοντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοι τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ πυιεύμενος εἶχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρός ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὄκως ὅσι, ἔχριετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀνιεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ πὶ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῇ οἱ "Ἀμασίς ὁ Αἴγυπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο."<sup>1</sup> χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὁροίτεα Πολυκρατεος τίσιες μετήλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληίην μέρων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὁροίτης ὠφίλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν ὃ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχον, ὃς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσησι δοκίμους, ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα καὶ τινα ἀγγελιηφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν ἥφαντε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets τῇ... προεμαντεύσατο, because Amasis did not actually prophesy the details; but the words may well stand.

saving only the despots of Syracuse, there is no despot of Greek race to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. Having killed him (in some way not fit to be told) Oroetes then crucified him; as for the Samians in his retinue he let them go, bidding them thank Oroetes for their freedom; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates' followers, he kept for slaves. So Polycrates was hanged aloft, and thereby his daughter's dream came true; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and the moisture from his body was his anointment by the sun.

126. This was the end of Polycrates' many successes, as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleum, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitrobates' son, Cranaspes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man's body and horse.

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127. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὀρούτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἶνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ιθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰδόκεε πέμπειν ἄτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὀρούτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἴσχυν πυνθανομένος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἰχε δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ιωνικον. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Ω Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὅμιλῳ; ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν. ὑμέων δὲ ὁν τίς μοι Ὀρούτεα ἡ ζώοντα ἀγάγοι ἡ ἀποκτένειε; δις ὡφέλησε μέν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἡστωσε, Μιτροβάτεα τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμεῦ κτείνει, ὑβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρὸν τι ὁν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαι μν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἔστι ἡμῖν θανάτῳ.”

128. Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιέειν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ο Λρτόντεω λαχὼν δὲ ο Βαγαῖος ποιέει τάδε. Βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγίδα σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἡμε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀρούτεω ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθών, τῶν βιβλίων ἐν ἕκαστον περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ

127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians, whom he thus addressed: "Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand—which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore we must see that death stays him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil."

128. At this question thirty men promised that they were ready each for himself to do the king's will. Darius bade them not contend but draw lots; they all did so, and the lot fell on Bagaeus, son of Artontes. He, thus chosen, got written many letters concerning many matters; then sealing them with Darius' seal he went with them to Sardis. Coming there into Oroetes' presence he took out each letter severally and gave it to one of the royal scribes who attend all

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γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληίους οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοὶ ἔχουσιν ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυθλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίατο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀρούτεω. ὄρέων δὲ σφέας τὰ τε βυθλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγύμενα ἐκ τῶν βυθλίων ἔτι μεζύνως, διδοῖ ἀλλοὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἐπεα τάδε· "Ω Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῶν μὴ δορυφορέειν Ὀρούτεα." οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. ἵδων δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυθλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυθλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο "Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσησι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀρούτεα." οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἥκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραυτίκα μν. οὕτω δὴ Ὀρούτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

129. Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀρούτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπ' ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. καὶ κως ἴσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἔξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἔωστὸν ἔχειν Αἴγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν Ἰητρικήν, τούτοισι ἐχράτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. ἐπ' ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίῃσι εἰχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὄγδοῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημο-

governors, for him to read ; giving the letters with intent to try the spearmen and learn if they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. Seeing that they paid great regard to the rolls and yet more to what was written therein, he gave another, wherein were these words : "Persians ! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard," which when the guard heard they lowered their spears before him. When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter thus far, he took heart and gave the last roll to the scribe, wherein were these words : "King Darius charges the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes." Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed Oroetes forthwith. Thus was Oroetes the Persian overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates of Samos.

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person ; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse ; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case ; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the

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κήδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ  
ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε  
τὸν δὲ ὡς ἔξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀρούτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι  
ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας  
τε ἐλκούτα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος  
τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο,  
ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς  
Ἐλλάδος οὐδὲ ἀπεστερημένος κατεφάνη τε  
τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς  
ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ  
κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα  
δὴ ὃν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπί-  
στασθαι, ὅμιλήσας δὲ ἵητρῷ φλαύρῳ ἔχειν τὴν  
τέχνην. μετὰ δέ, ὃς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἐλληνικοῖσι  
ἴημασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἡπια μετὰ τὰ ἴσχυρὰ  
προσώγων ὑπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν  
χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι  
ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι. δωρέεται δή μιν  
μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύ-  
γεσι· ὁ δέ μιν ἐπείρετο εἰ οἱ διπλῆσιον τὸ κακὸν  
ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγιέα ἐποίησε. ἡσθεὶς δὲ  
τῷ ἐπεὶ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς  
ἑωυτοῦ γυναικας παράγοιτες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἐλε-  
γον πρὸς τὰς γυναικας ὡς βασιλέι οὗτος εἴη δι  
τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δε αὐτέων  
ἐκάστη φιάλη τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρέετο  
Δημοκήδεα οὔτω δή τι δαψιλέι δωρεῇ ὡς τοὺς  
ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας ἐπό-  
μενος οἱ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκέτων, ἀνελέγετο  
καὶ οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

king of him. Darius bade Democedes be brought to him without delay. Finding the physician somewhere all unregarded and forgotten among Oroetes' slaves, they brought him forth, dragging his chains and clad in rags.

130. When he came before the king, Darius asked him if he had knowledge of his art. Democedes denied it, for he feared that by revealing the truth about himself he would wholly be cut off from Hellas. Darius saw clearly that he was using craft to hide his knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and bade those who led him to bring out scourges and goads for him. Then Democedes confessed, in so far as to say that his knowledge was not exact: but he had consorted (he said) with a physician and thereby gained some poor acquaintance with the art. Darius then entrusting the matter to him, Democedes applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of the Egyptians' violence; whereby he made the king able to sleep and in a little while recovered him of his hurt, though Darius had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot. After this, Darius rewarded him with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. "Is it then your purpose," Democedes asked, "to double my pains for my making you whole?" Darius, pleased by his wit, sent him to the king's wives. The eunuchs brought him to the women, saying, "This is he who saved the king's life"; whereupon each of them took a vessel and, scooping with it from a chest full of gold, so richly rewarded the physician that the servant, whose name was Sciton, collected a very great sum of gold by following and gleaning the staters that fell from the vessels.

<sup>1</sup> Or, that he knew how to practise his art?

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131. Ο δὲ Δημοκήδης οὗτος ὅδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος Πολυκράτει ὡμίλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὄργὴν χαλεπῷ· τοῦτον ἐπείτε οὐκ ἔδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπών οἴχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτῳ ἐτεῖ ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἵητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἐών καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἔργαλημα. καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἐτεῖ ταλάντου Αἴγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἐτεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἐτεῖ Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἡκιστα Κροτωνῆται ἵητροὶ εὔδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνῆται ἵητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλίδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἡκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρώτοι.<sup>1</sup>

132. Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκήδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἔξιησάμενος Δαρείον οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ δύμοτραπέζος βασιλέι ἐγεγόνεε, πλήν τε ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἑλληνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τὰλλά οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἴγυπτίους ἵητρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἴῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἑλληνος ἵητροῦ ἐσσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἡλείον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπηιελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι ἐρρύσατο.

133. Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε

<sup>1</sup> Stein suspects from ἐγίνεται γὰρ το πρῶτοι, but for no very cogent reason; though the mention of the Argive musicians is certainly irrelevant.

131. Now this is how Democedes had come from Croton to live with Polycrates: he was troubled with a harsh-tempered father at Croton, whom being unable to bear, he left him and went to Aegina. Settled there, before a year was out, he excelled all the other physicians, although he had no equipment nor any of the implements of his calling. In his second year the Aeginetans<sup>1</sup> paid him a talent to be their public physician; in the next the Athenians hired him for an hundred minae, and Polycrates in the next again for two talents. Thus he came to Samos; and the fame of the Crotoniat physicians was chiefly owing to him; for at this time the best physicians in Greek countries were those of Croton, and next to them those of Cyrene. About the same time the Argives had the name of being the best musicians.

132. So now for having healed Darius at Susa Democedes had a very great house and ate at the king's table; all was his, except only permission to return to his Greek home. When the Egyptian chirurgeons who had till now attended on the king were about to be impaled for being less skilful than a Greek, Democedes begged their lives of the king and saved them; and he saved besides an Elean diviner, who had been of Polycrates' retinue and was left neglected among the slaves. Mightily in favour with the king was Democedes.

133. Not long after this, Atossa, Cyrus' daughter

<sup>1</sup> The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).

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ἄλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὴν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν Ἑλασσον, ἡ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδειί· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. δὲ φὰς ὑγιέα ποιήσειν ἔξορκοι μνη ἢ μέν οἱ ἀντυπουργῆσειν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἄν αὐτῆς δεηθῆ δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

134. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μνη μετὰ ταῦτα ἴώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκῆδεος ἡ Ἀτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. Ὡς Βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσάντην κάτησαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσησι. οίκος δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' ἄνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δέ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μηδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἔως νέος εἰς ἥλικιν· αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σωματὶ συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἐλεγε, ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. Ὡς γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν εἴρηκας ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβουλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ἡπείρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἐσται τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἀτοσσα τάδε. Ὡς Ορα

and Darius' wife, found a swelling growing on her breast, which broke and spread further. As long as it was but a small matter, she said nothing of it but hid it for shame; but presently growing worse, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He promised to cure her, but made her to swear that she would requite him by granting whatsoever he requested of her; saying, that he would ask nothing shameful.

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the

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νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην οἱέναι ἔασον  
οὗτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονται τοι· σὺ δέ  
μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω  
γάρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Δακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι  
θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κοριν-  
θίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἄνδρῶν  
πάντων δέξαι τε ἔκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατη-  
γήσασθαι, τοῦτον δοσεῖ τὸν πόδα ἔξιήσατο.”  
ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος “”Ω γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι  
δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι,  
κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἀμεινον  
εἶναι ὅμοῦ τουτῷ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς,  
οἵ μαθόντες καὶ ἴδόντες ἔξαγγελέουσι ἔκαστα  
αὐτῶν ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐπειτα ἔξεπιστάμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς  
τρέψομαι.”

135. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἡμα ἐπος τε καὶ ἔργον  
ἐποίεε. ἐπείτε γάρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε,  
καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαΐδεκα  
ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκήδει διεξελθεῖν  
τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅκως τε μὴ  
διαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκήδης, ἀλλά μν πάν-  
τως ὅπιστο ἀπάξουσι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοισι  
ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκήδεα ἐδέετο  
αὐτοῦ ὅκως ἔξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ὅπιστο ἦξει· δῶρα δέ  
μν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα  
τὰ ἑκέίνου ἐπιπλα λαβόντα ἀγειν, φὰς ἀλλα οἱ  
πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα  
οἰκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι πλήσας ἀγαθῶν  
παντοίων, τὴν ἡμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος μὲν  
δή, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγ-  
γέλλετό οι ταῦτα. Δημοκήδης δὲ δείσας μή εύ

Scythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." "Lady," answered Darius, "since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas."

135. So said Darius, and it was no sooner said than done. For the next day at dawn he called to him fifteen notable Persians, and bade them go with Democedes and pass along the seaboard of Hellas; charging them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not suffer him to escape. Having thus charged them he next sent for Democedes himself, and required of him that when he had shown and made clear all Hellas to the Persians, he should come back; "And take," said he, "all your movable goods to give your father and your brethren; I will give you many times as much in return; and I will send to sail with you a ship of burden with a cargo of all things desirable." Darius, I think, made this promise in all honesty. But Democedes feared lest the king should

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ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρεῖος, οὕτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἔδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὅπισθ σφέα ἀπελθῶν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὄλκάδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136. Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἔμα δὲ αὐτῆσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν παρεσκενασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχαντες δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηεῦντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ ὄνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκουντο τῆς Ἰταλίης ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥῆστώνης τῆς Δημοκῆδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἔσοντας. ἐν φῷ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐπασχον, ὁ Δημοκῆδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἡδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφί.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκῆδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εύροντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἀπτοντο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προιέναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἐπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἔπει τάδε. Ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὄρατε τὰ ποιέετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος

be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Democedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

136. They came down to the city of Sidon in Phoenice, and there chartered two triremes, as well as a great galleon laden with all things desirable; and when all was ready they set sail for Hellas, where they surveyed and made a record of the coasts to which they came; until having viewed the greater and most famous parts they reached Taras in Italy. There Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, willing to do Democedes a kindness, took off the steering gear from the Median ships, and put the Persians under a guard, calling them spies. While they were in this plight Democedes made his way to Croton; nor did Aristophilides set the Persians free and restore to them what he had taken from their ships, till the physician was by now in his own country.

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him in the market and were for seizing him. Some Crotontiats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king's men and beat them with their staves. "Nay," said the Persians, "look well, men of Croton, what you

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δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἔξαιρέεσθε. κῶς ταῦτα βασιλέι Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιυβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς. ήν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;" ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὕκων ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἔξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἄμα ἥγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ' ἔτι ἔξήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερήμενοι τοῦ ἱγεμόνος. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατο σφι Δημοκῆδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ δtti ἄρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκῆδης γυναικα. τοῦ γάρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὔνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλέι κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκῆδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐώντοῦ δοκιμος.

138. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῆσι υησὸν ἐς Ἰηπυγίην, καὶ σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο δ. τε βουλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἴρεεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορήν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ἦν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλέῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κυιδίους μούνους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἔονταν τοῖσι Ταραντίνοισι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε·

do; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the great king; think you that King Darius will rest content under this insolence? Think you that the deed will profit you if you take him from us? Your city will then be the first that we will attack and essay to enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia, making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honour; and, to my thinking, the reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a man of estimation in his own country as well as Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and they themselves made slaves in the country, until one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and restored them to Darius. In return for this the king offered Gillus any reward that he might desire; Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked above all to be restored to Taras; but, not willing that a great armament should for his cause sail to Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas, it was enough, he said, that the Cnidians alone should be his escort; for he supposed that thus the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back, the Cnidians being their friends. Darius kept his word,

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πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρεῖω Κνίδιοι Ταραντίνους οῦκων ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

139. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμου βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἱρέει, πολίων πατέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἵ μέν, ὡς οἰκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οἵ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χωρῆς θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Λιάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὔτυχή τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρίην ἰγγόραξε ἐν τῷ Μέμφι· ἕδων δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνέετο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὄρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείη τυχῇ χρεωμένος λέγει "Ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι." αἰνέστας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἥπιστατο τοῦτο οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μαγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ Δαρεῖος τὴν βασιληίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὡς ἡ βασιληίη περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ

and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, bidding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

139. After this, Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or other, the reason of his conquest being this:—When Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks came with the army to that country, some to trade, as was natural, and some to see the country itself; among whom was Syloson, son of Aeaces, Polycrates' brother, and now banished from Samos. This Syloson had a stroke of good luck. He was in the market at Memphis wearing a red cloak, when Darius, at that time one of Cambyses' guard and as yet a man of no great account, saw him, and coveting the cloak came and offered to buy it. When Syloson saw Darius' eagerness, by good luck he was moved to say, "I will not sell you my cloak; but if it must be so, and no help for it, you can have it for nothing." To this Darius agreed and took the garment.

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was

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κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἶμα.  
 ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σουῦσα ὥστο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν  
 βασιλέος οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἴναι,  
 ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουρὸς τῷ βασιλέι  
 δὲ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "Καὶ τίς ἐστὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι, νεωστὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τῇ ἡ οὐδεὶς  
 κω παρ' ἡμέας αυτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν  
 ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτον παράγετε ἔσω,  
 ἵνα εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." παρῆγε ὁ  
 πυλουρὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον  
 εἱρώτων οἱ ἑρμηνέες τίς τε εἴη καὶ τί ποιήσας  
 εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος. εἰπε δὲ ὁ Συλοσῶν  
 πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς  
 αὐτὸς εἴη κείνος ὁ δούς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα  
 Δαρεῖος "Ο γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῶνος εἰς δὲ  
 ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ  
 σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὃν ἴστη γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν  
 κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμε. ἀντ' ὃν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ  
 ἄργυρον ἀπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μή κοτέ τοι μεταμε-  
 λήσῃ Δαρεῖον τὸν Τστάσπεος εὖ ποιησαντί."  
 λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν "Ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν  
 ὡς βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασωσά-  
 μενός μοι δος τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελ-  
 φεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ<sup>3</sup>  
 Ὁρούτεω ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος ταύτην μοι δὸς  
 ἀνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἔξανδραποδίσιος."

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος ἀπέστελλε στρα-  
 τήν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ  
 γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὃσων ἔδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν,  
 ταῦτά οἱ ποιέειν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστελλε τὴν στρατιήν.

the man to whom he had given at request the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat at the king's porch, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the gate-ward brought word of this to the king, "But to what Greek benefactor," Darius asked, "can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, I may say, no need of any Greek. Nevertheless let him be brought in, that I may know his meaning." The gate-ward brought Syloson in and set him before them; and the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "you are he who made me a present when I had as yet no power; if it was but a little thing, yet it was as thankworthy as if someone now gave me a great gift. Take in requital abundance of gold and silver, that you may never repent of the service you did Darius son of Hystaspes." "Nay," Syloson answered, "I ask neither gold, O king, nor silver; only win me back my fatherland of Samos, where my brother Polycrates has been done to death by Oroctes, and our slave now rules; give me back Samos, but so that there be no bloodshed nor enslaving."

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.

142. Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαῖην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἔξεγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἔξαγγελθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιάδε πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δέ, ὡς οἱ ἐπεποίητο, ἐκκλησίῃν συναγεύειν πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἐλεῖται τάδε. “Ἐμοί, ὡς ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἥρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἔωντῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μέν νυν ἔξεπληστε μοῖραν τὴν ἔωντον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἴσονομίην ὑμῖν πραγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαιῶ γέρεα ἐμεωτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μέν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἔξαιρετα ἐξ τάλαιτά μοι γενέσθαι, ἵρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἱεὶ γινομένοισι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱρὸν ἴδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημ.” δὲ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δέ τις ἔξαναστὰς εἶπε “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἄξιος εἰς σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν δλεθρος· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δκως λόγου δώσεις τῶν μετεχείριστας χρημάτων.”

143. Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νόφ

142. Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, whom Polycrates had made his vicegerent. This Maeandrius desired to act with all justice, but could not. For when he had news of Polycrates' death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out round it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this was done, he called an assembly of all the townsfolk, and thus addressed them: "It is known to you that I have sole charge of Polycrates' sceptre and dominion; and it is in my power to be your ruler. But, so far as in me lies, I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbour. I ever misliked that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like to himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny; for myself, I call you to share all power, and I proclaim equality; only claiming as my own such privilege that six talents of Polycrates' wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants have besides the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and I now give you freedom." Such was Maeandrius' promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: "Nay, but who are you? You are not worthy to reign over us, being a low-born knave and rascal. See to it rather that you give an account of the moneys that you have handled."

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Macandrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved

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είχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεγάρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἔνα ἔκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατασχῃ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτεῖνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἴκαστι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Ἐπειδὴ ὧν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὗτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόσπουδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἔτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὁτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστουν ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέστησαν.

145. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὁ τι δὴ ἔξαμαρτὼν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρητστόμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωντὸν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, λέγων τοιάδε. "Ἐμὲ μέν, ὡς κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἔοντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἡξίωσας· ὄρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντας τέ σε καὶ ἀνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δὴ τι ἔοντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι.

not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Maeandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycarethus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

144. So when the Persians brought Syloson back to Samos, none resisted them, but Maeandrius and those of his faction offered to depart from the island under a flag of truce; Otanes agreed to this, and the treaty being made, the Persians of highest rank sat them down on seats that they had set over against the citadel.

145. Now Maeandrius the despot had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offence; this man heard what was afoot, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he desired to have speech with Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, bade Charilaus be loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he essayed with much reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Villain," he cried, "you have bound and imprisoned me, your own brother, who had done nothing to deserve it; and when you see the Persians casting you out of house and home, have you no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily master them? If you are yourself

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ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σὺ σφέας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοῖς ἐπικούρους, καὶ σφέας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς υῆσουν ἔτοιμος είμι."

146. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέος, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰς ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὧν τοὺς Πέρσας ἥθελε ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εἴναι ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, εἰδὼς τε ἐωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἕκδυσιν ἔσουσαν ἐκ τῆς υῆσουν τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οἱ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δὲ ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὕτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἔοντας ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὕτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίευν, οἵ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθεε πιεζεύμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλίθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

147. Ὁτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἴδων πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεποιθότας, ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρεῖος οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν

afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for their coming hither; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

146. So said Charilaus. Maeandrius took his advice. This he did, to my thinking, not that he was so foolish as to suppose that he would be strong enough to vanquish the king, but because he grudged that Syloson should recover Samos safe and whole with no trouble. He desired therefore to anger the Persians and thereby to weaken Samos as much as he might before surrendering it, for he was well aware that if the Persians were harmed they would be bitterly wroth with the Samians. Moreover he knew that he could get himself safe out of the island whenever he would, having made a secret passage leading from the citadel to the sea. Maeandrius then set sail himself from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the guards, opened the citadel gates, and threw the guard upon the Persians. These supposed that a full agreement had now been made, and were taken at unawares; the guard fell upon them and slew the Persians of highest rank, those who were carried in litters. At this the rest of the Persian force came up and pressed the guards hard, driving them into the citadel.

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian

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ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὃ δὲ παριγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἀν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὄμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ὄμοίως ἐν τε ἰρῷ καὶ ἔξῳ ἥρῳ.

148. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Δακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἔξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεα τε καὶ χρύσεα προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἔξεσμων αὐτά, ὃ δὲ ἀν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀραξανδρίδεω ἐν λόγοισι ἐών, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἔξεπλήσσετο· ὃ δὲ ἀν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρὶς εἴπαντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται, δις λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίου, μαθῶν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εύρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἡ αὐτὸν ἡ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑπακούσαντες ἔξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον.

149. Τὴν δὲ Σάμον [σαγηνεύσαντες]<sup>1</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι ἔρημον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν.

<sup>1</sup> This word may be an interpolation; the process (forming a long line to sweep all before it) is described in detail in Bk. VI. 31, as if that were the first mention of it. Moreover, it is inconsistent here with ch. 147.

but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson ; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the citadel, the rest slew all they met, whether in temples or without.

148. Maeandrius, escaping from Samos, sailed to Lacedaemon ; and when he had come thither and brought up the possessions with which he had left his country, it was his custom to make a display of silver and gold drinking cups ; while his servants were cleaning these, he would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him to his house. Cleomenes, whenever he saw the cups, marvelling greatly at them, Maeandrius would bid him take away as many of them as he wished. Maeandrius made this offer two or three times ; Cleomenes herein showed his great honesty, that he would not accept it ; but, perceiving that there were others in Lacedaemon from whom Maeandrius would get help by offering them the cups, he went to the ephors and told them it were best for Sparta that this Samian stranger should quit the country, lest he should persuade Cleomenes himself or some other Spartan to do evil. The ephors listened to his counsel and banished Maeandrius by proclamation.

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But

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ύστερῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὅτανης ἐκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου ἡ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

150. Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐν δσφ γὰρ ὃ τε Μάγος ἤρχε καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιώνδε τὰς μητέρας ἔξελόντες, γυναικαὶ ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαιρέετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπιξαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἔξαιρέετο ἀπέπιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μή σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.

151. Πιθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκεε φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἐπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. "Τί κάτησθε ὁ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἴρηστε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι." τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἀν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.

152. Ἐπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἥδη ὁ Δαρεῖος τε ἥσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ ἐοῦσα ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς

afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, gave his aid to settle the land, being moved thereto by a dream, and a sickness which attacked his secret parts.

150. When the fleet had gone to Samos, the Babylonians revolted;<sup>1</sup> for which they had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the Magian, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the disorders to prepare themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this was unknown. At the last they revolted openly and did this:—sending away all the mothers, they chose each one woman from his own household, whom he would, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them, that they should not consume their bread.

151. When Darius heard of this he mustered all his power and led it against Babylon, and he marched to the town and laid siege to it; but the townsmen cared nothing for what he did. They came up on to the bastions of the wall, and mocked Darius and his army with gesture and word; and this saying came from one of them: “Why sit you there, Persians, instead of departing? You will take our city when mules bear offspring.” This said the Babylonian, supposing that no mule would ever bear offspring.

152. A year and seven months passed and Darius and all his army were vexed by ever failing to take Babylon. Yet Darius had used every trick and

<sup>1</sup> According to the course of Herodotus' narrative, this revolt would seem to have taken place some considerable time after Darius' accession (521 B.C.). But the Behistun inscription apparently makes it one of the earliest events of his reign.

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ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἐδύνατο  
ἔλεῖν σφέας, ἄλλοισι τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἶλε σφέας, καὶ τούτῳ  
ἐπειρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ  
Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἶός τε ἦν ἔλεῖν.

153. Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγα-  
βύζου, τούτου δι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν  
τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου  
παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε τῶν οἱ σιτο-  
φόρων ἡμίονων μία ἔτεκε. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ  
ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος,  
ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονός  
ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου  
ῥήματα, δις κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι  
τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῦχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην  
τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυ-  
λών σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀστι-  
τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

154. Ως δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἦδη τῇ  
Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείου ἀπε-  
πυνθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν  
Βαβυλῶνα ἔλειν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῆτο,  
ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅκως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν  
αὐτὴν καὶ ἐωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται κάρτα γὰρ ἐν  
τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγά-  
θεος τιμῶνται. ἄλλῳ μέν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ  
δυνατὸς εἶναι μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ ἐωυτοῦ  
λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. Ἐνθαῦτα  
ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἀστικόν λωβᾶται λώβην  
ἀνήκεστον ἀποταμῶν γὰρ ἐωυτοῦ τὴν ρῆνα καὶ  
τὰ ὡτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστι-  
γώσας ἥλθε παρὰ Δαρεῖον.

every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

153. But in the twentieth month of the siege a miraculous thing befell Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus who was one of the seven destroyers of the Magian: one of his food-carrying mules bore offspring. Zopyrus would not believe the news; but when he saw the foal for himself, he bade those who had seen it to tell no one; then taking counsel he bethought him of the Babylonian's word at the beginning of the siege—that the city would be taken when mules bore offspring—and having this utterance in mind he conceived that Babylon might be taken; for the hand of heaven, he supposed, was in the man's word and the birth from his own mule.

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so, he next looked about for a plan whereby the city's fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius.

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155. Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἡμεικε ίδων ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἐκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν δοστις εἶη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὁ τι ποιήσαντα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὁνήρ, διτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτῃ ἐμὲ δὴ ὥδε διαθέων· οὐδέ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν, δεινόν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο "Ω σχετλιώτατε ἄνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὔνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθεν, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. τί δ', ὁ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστῆσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρειῶν σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Εἰ μέν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἔμελλον ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἂν με περιείδεις· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ἦδη δὲ τὸν σῶν δεήση, αἴρεομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ ὡς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἐπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατῆς. σὺ δέ, ἀπ' ἡς ἀν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατῆς, τῆς οὐδεμίᾳ ἐσται ὥρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγῶν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἔχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνεύντων μήτε

155. The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "Hard-hearted man; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, lead out four thousand more and post them before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any

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ούτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔαν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην οὐθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δέ μοι ταξον κατά τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ως γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσησι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιέειν."

156. Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦμε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ως δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὄρωντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἑτερην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτεν δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὃ δέ σφι ἥγιόρευε ως εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἥγον δὴ μιν οἱ πυλουροί, ταῦτα ως ἦκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεποιθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλεῦσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπείτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πύρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος. "Νῦν τέ" ἔφη λέγων "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὁ Βαβυλώνιοι ἦκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖφ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσησι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὡδε λωβησάμενος καταπροίξεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων." τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

157. Οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὄρῶντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσησι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὄτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξί τε καὶ αἷματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καὶ σφι ἦκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν

weapons of war save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and, I pray you, post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits that the Babylonians will give into my charge the keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to do what is needful."

156. With this charge, he went towards the city gate, turning and looking back as though he were in truth a deserter. When the watchers posted on the towers saw him, they ran down, and opening half the gate a little asked him who he was and for what purpose he was come; he told them that he was Zopyrus, come to them as a deserter. Hearing this the gate-wardens brought him before the general assembly of the Babylonians, where he bade them see his lamentable plight, saying of his own work that it was Darius' doing, because that he had advised the king to lead his army away, seeing that they could find no way to take the city. "Now," said he in his speech to them, "I am come greatly to aid you, men of Babylon, and greatly to harm Darius and his army and the Persians; not unpunished shall he go for the outrage he has wrought upon me; and I know all the plan and order of his counsels." Thus he spoke.

157. When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he

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έδέετο σφέων· έδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς. ὁ δὲ ἐπειτε  
αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τά περ τῷ Δαρεῖῳ  
συνεθήκατο· ἔξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν  
στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος  
τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρεῖῳ  
τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δέ μιν οἱ  
Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἐπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον  
ὅμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρέες ἔσοντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι  
ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγ-  
κειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων  
ἔξῆγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιω-  
τῶν τοὺς δισχιλίους. ιδόντες δέ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν  
στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς  
συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἔξῆγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον,  
καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχι-  
λίους. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ  
ἥν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρα-  
τάρχης τε οὗτος σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκεί-  
μενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ  
πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἔξεφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο  
τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλονταν, ὁ δὲ  
Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας  
πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ  
τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιη-  
θέν, οὓτοι μὲν ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ  
ἴρον οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ τάξι  
ἔκαστος, ἐς δὴ καὶ οὓτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

159. Βαβυλὼν μέν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἱρέθη.  
Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων,

might have an army; and having received this from them he did according to his agreement with Darius. On the tenth day he led out the Babylonian army, and surrounded and put to the sword the thousand whom he had charged Darius to set first in the field. Seeing that his deeds answered his words, the Babylonians were overjoyed and ready to serve him in every way. When the agreed number of days was past, he led out again a chosen body of Babylonians, and slew the two thousand men of Darius' army. When the Babylonians saw this second feat of arms, the praise of Zopyrus was in every man's mouth. The agreed number of days being again past, he led out his men to the place he had named, where he surrounded the four thousand and put them to the sword. After this his third exploit, Zopyrus was the one man for Babylon: he was made the captain of their armies and the warden of their walls.

158. So when Darius assaulted the whole circuit of the wall, according to the agreed plan, then Zopyrus' treason was fully revealed. For while the townsmen were on the wall defending it against Darius' assault, he opened the gates called Cissian and Belian, and let in the Persians within the walls. Those Babylonians who saw what he did fled to the temple of that Zeus whom they call Belus; those who had not seen it abode each in his place, till they too perceived how they had been betrayed.

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed

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τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἐλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν, ὡς δ' ἔξουσι γυναικας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γενεὴ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἑωυτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναικας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

160. Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, δτὶ μὴ Κῦρος μοῦνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἡξίωσέ κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τῆνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιτο ἀν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἡ Βαβυλῶνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐουσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσησι ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἐδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας ηύτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.

their walls and left away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon ; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them ; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, as I have shown above, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon ; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand : these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not foully mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him ; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies ; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.



## **BOOK IV**

Δ

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. ἀνθεύστης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. τῆς γὰρ ἀνω Ἀσίης ἥρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους οὗτοι γὰρ πρὸν ἦ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἥρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἔξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὑρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναικες, ὡς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

2. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἰνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὡδε.

## BOOK IV

1. AFTER the taking of Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For seeing that Asia abounded in men and that he gathered from it a great revenue, he became desirous of punishing the Scythians for the unprovoked wrong they had done when they invaded Media and defeated those who encountered them. For the Scythians, as I have before shown, ruled the upper country of Asia<sup>1</sup> for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and made an end of the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the coming of the Scythians. But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for eight and twenty years and returned to their country after so long a time, there awaited them another task as hard as their Median war. They found themselves encountered by a great host; for their husbands being now long away, the Scythian women consorted with their slaves.

2. Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, by reason of the milk<sup>2</sup> whereof they drink; and this is

<sup>1</sup> That is, the western highlands of the Persian empire.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent their stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.

## HERODOTUS

έπειδη φυσητήρας λάβωσι δοτείνους αὐλοῖσι προσ-  
εμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων  
ἴππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ  
ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε  
εἶνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι  
φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι.  
έπειδη δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα  
ἀγγήμα κοῖλα καὶ περιστίξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήμα  
τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ  
ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμώ-  
τερον, τὸ δὲ ὑπιστάμενον ἡστὸν τοῦ ἔτέρου.  
τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἀν λάβωσι οἱ  
Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γάρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἄλλα  
νομίδες.

3. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὁν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν  
γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὴν  
σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἡντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ  
τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀπετά-  
μοντο, τάφρον δρυξάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσαν  
ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὁρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην,  
τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστῃ μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένοισι ἐσ-  
βάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο.  
γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων  
οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς  
αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "Οἰα ποιεῦμεν, ἀνδρες Σκύθαι·  
δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ τε  
κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτεί-  
νοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀρξομεν. νῦν ὡν

the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. By what they say, their reason for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they most value; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wandering graziers.

3. So it came about that a younger race grew up, born of these slaves and the women; and when the youths learnt of their lineage, they came out to do battle with the Scythians in their return from Media. First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench from the Tauric mountains to the broadest part of the Maeotian lake<sup>1</sup>; and presently when the Scythians tried to force a passage they encamped over against them and met them in battle. Many fights there were, and the Scythians could gain no advantage thereby; at last one of them said, "Men of Scythia, see what we are about! We are fighting our own slaves; they slay us, and we grow fewer; we slay them, and thereafter shall have fewer slaves. Now therefore

<sup>1</sup> The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the *rippes* was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called "Patrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between the Arabat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of Azov.

## HERODOTUS

μοι δοκέει αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα  
δὲ ἔκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα οἶναι ἀσσον  
αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας,  
οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοι τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῶν εἶναι·  
ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας,  
μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες  
τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι.”

4. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν ἐπι-  
τελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γυνομένῳ τῆς μάχης  
τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς  
τε Ἀσίης ἡρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτις ὑπὸ  
Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην.  
τῶνδε εἴνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος  
συνήγειρε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

5. Ως δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων  
ἔθνεων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὄδε.  
ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐούσῃ  
ἔρημῳ τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον τοῦ δὲ Ταρ-  
γιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ  
μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δὲ ὧν, Δία τε  
καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος  
μὲν τοιούτου δή τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον,  
τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαιν καὶ  
Ἀρπόξαιν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαιν. ἐπὶ τούτων  
ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιή-  
ματα, ἄροτρόν τε καὶ ξυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ  
φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν καὶ τῶν ιδόντα  
πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσσον οἶναι βουλόμενον  
αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι·  
ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον,  
καὶ τὸν αὐτις ταῦτα ποιέειν. τὸν μὲν δὴ καιό-  
μενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεω-

my counsel is that we drop our spears and bows, and go to meet them each with his horsewhip in hand. As long as they saw us armed, they thought themselves to be our peers and the sons of our peers; let them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not abide our attack."

4. This the Scythians heard, and acted thereon; and their enemies, amazed by what they saw, had no more thought of fighting, but fled. Thus the Scythians ruled Asia and were driven out again by the Medes, and by such means they won their return to their own land. Desiring to punish them for what they did, Darius mustered an army against them.

5. The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in all the world, and that it came into being on this wise. There appeared in this country, being then desert, a man whose name was Targitaus. His parents, they say—for my part I do not believe the tale, but it is told—were Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes.<sup>1</sup> Such (it is said) was Targitaus' lineage; and he had three sons, Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. In the time of their rule (so the story goes) there fell down from the sky into Scythia certain implements, all of gold, namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask. The eldest of them, seeing this, came near with intent to take them; but the gold began to burn as he came, and he ceased from his essay; then the second approached, and the gold did again as before; when these two had been driven away by the burning of the gold, last came the youngest brother,

<sup>1</sup> The Dnieper.

## HERODOTUS

τάτῳ ἐπελθόντες κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγρύνοντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

6. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροι τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέος οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὕνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ "Ελληνες ὄνομασαν.

7. Γεγονέναι μέν νυν σφέας ὅδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπείτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεὸς Ταργυτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλέες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἵλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ὃς δὲ ἀν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὄρτῃ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαυτίζειν δίδοσθαι δέ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο δσα ἀν ἵππῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μῆρη περιελάσῃ αὐτός. τῆς δὲ χώρης ἔουσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τούτων μίαν ποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρης οὐκ οἴτε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὄρâν οὔτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων πτερῶν γάρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ήέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληίοντα τὴν δψιν.

and the burning was quenched at his approach; so he took the gold to his own house. At this his elder brothers saw how matters stood, and made over the whole royal power to the youngest.

6. Lipoxais, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxais, the second brother, of those called Katiari and Traspians; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; "Scythians" is a name given them by Greeks.

7. Such then is the Scythians' account of their origin; they reckon that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed from the time of their first king Targitaeus and the crossing over of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold most jealously, and every year offer to it solemn sacrifices of propitiation. Whoever at this festival falls asleep in the open air, having with him the sacred gold, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason<sup>1</sup> (they say) there is given him as much land as he can himself ride round in one day. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships established by Colaxais for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. Above and northward of the neighbours of their country none (they say) can see or travel further, by reason of showers of feathers<sup>2</sup>; for earth and sky are overspread by these, and it is this which hinders sight.

<sup>1</sup> The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.

## HERODOTUS

8. Σκύθαι μὲν ὁδεὶς ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, 'Ελλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὁδεὶς. 'Ηρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἔοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἡντινα μῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν "Ελληνες λέγουσι 'Ερύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω 'Ηρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ 'Οκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ 'Οκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἥλιου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσι. ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν 'Ηρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν μῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμόν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δέ οἱ ἵππους τὰς<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θείη τύχῃ.

9. 'Ος δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν 'Ηρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν 'Τλαίην καλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μὗσοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν είναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἐνερθε ὄφιος. ἴδοντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἴ κου ίδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πριν ἡ οἱ μιχθῆ· τὸν δὲ 'Ηρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τουτῷ, κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ 'Ηρακλέι, καὶ τὸν κομσάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν

<sup>1</sup> [τάι] Stein.

8. Such is the Scythians' account of themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who dwell in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the kine of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desert, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones dwelt westward of the Pontus,<sup>1</sup> being settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of the Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for the Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows from the sun's rising round the whole world, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came thence to the country now called Scythia, where, meeting with wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, that were grazing yoked to the chariot, were marvellously spirited away.

9. When Heracles awoke he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, till at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half damsel and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had anywhere seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not restore them to him before he had intercourse with her; which Heracles did, in hope of this reward. But though he was fain to take the horses and depart, she delayed to restore them, that she might have Heracles with her for as long as might be; at last she gave them back, saying

<sup>1</sup> Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.

## HERODOTUS

“Ιππονος μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε  
ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ, σῶστρά τε σὺ παρέσχες· ἐγὼ γὰρ  
ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παιδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένων-  
ται τρόφιες, οὐ τι χρή ποιέειν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε  
αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γάρ τησδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος  
αὐτῇ) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ.” τὴν μὲν δὴ  
ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα  
εἰπεῖν “Ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἵδη τοὺς παιδας,  
τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἀν ὁμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἀν ὄρᾶς  
αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὥδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ  
ζωστῆρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τούτον μὲν  
τησδε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦν δος δ' ἀν τούτων  
τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἐκπεμπε ἐκ  
τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτῇ τε εὐφρανέαι  
καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.”

10. Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἔτερον  
(δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν  
ζωστῆρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ  
τὸν ζωστῆρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς  
φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν  
οὐ, ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παιδας ἀνδρωθῆναι,  
τοῦτο μέν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγά-  
θυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ  
τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην  
αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δυο μέν  
οι τῶν παιδῶν, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελω-  
νόν, οὐκ οἶους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν  
προκείμενον ἀεθλον, οἵχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκ-  
βληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς ημιναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον  
αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῷ  
χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος  
γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γενομένους Σκυθέων,

to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself in this fashion with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I command, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Scythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land.

✓ From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the

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ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν  
ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μοῦνον μηχα-  
νῆσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα δὲ Ἐλληνῶν  
οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

11. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὡδε, τῷ  
μᾶλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας  
τοὺς ρομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ  
πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἰχεσθαι δια-  
βάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην  
(τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὗτη λέγεται τὸ  
παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους  
ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλεύεσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπι-  
όντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γυνώμας σφέων κεχω-  
ρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ὑμείνω δὲ τὴν  
τῶν βασιλέων τὴν μὲν γάρ δὴ τοῦ δῆμου φέρειν  
γυνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη μηδὲ  
πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν  
βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι  
ἐπιοῦσι. οὕκων δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι  
βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δῆμῳ τοὺς βα-  
σιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι  
ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χώρην παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι  
τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἑωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀπο-  
θανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δῆμῳ, λογισαμένους  
ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας  
ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν.  
ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν  
ἴσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> This is not intelligible to me. If τῇ μητέρι Σκύθης could  
be read, some sense might be obtained: Scythes, and he  
alone, contrived this (τόδε for τὸ δῆ, "this" being the πρ-  
κειμένος δεῖθλος) for his mother.

vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their girdles to this day. This alone his mother contrived for Scythes. Such is the tale told by the Greek dwellers in Pontus.

11. There is yet another tale, to the tradition whereof I myself do especially incline. It is to this purport: the nomad Scythians inhabiting Asia, being hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled away across the river Araxes<sup>1</sup> to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged of old to the Cimmerians), and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the Scythians, took such counsel as behoved men threatened by a great host. Their opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honourable; for the commonalty deemed that their business was to withdraw themselves and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. Neither side would be persuaded by the other, neither the people by the princes nor the princes by the people; the one part planned to depart without fighting and deliver the country to their enemies, but the princes were resolved to lie slain in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their state had been and what ills were like to come upon them if they fled from their native land. Being thus resolved they parted asunder into two equal bands and fought with each other till they

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; *cp. i. 202.*

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τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἔωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφεων ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὗτο τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιέεσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἐρήμην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήμα Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρη οὖγομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος· φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινάπῃ πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ μὲν γάρ Κιμμέριοι αἱεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὐ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Βαρθάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

13. Ἐφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεια, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἰσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἰσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ἄπερβορέους κατίκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὧν πάντας πλὴν Ἄπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἱεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι

were all slain by their own hands; then the commonalty of the Cimmerians buried them by the river Tyras, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them departed out of the land; and the country being empty, the Scythians came and took possession of it.

12. And to this day there are in Scythia Cimmerian walls, and a Cimmerian ferry, and there is a country Cimmeria<sup>1</sup> and a strait named Cimmerian. Moreover, it is clearly seen that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia did also make a colony on the peninsula where now the Greek city of Sinope has been founded; and it is manifest that the Scythians pursued after them and invaded Media, missing their way; for the Cimmerians ever fled by the way of the coast, and the Scythians pursued with the Caucasus on their right till where they came into the Median land, turning inland on their way. I have now related this other tale, which is told alike by Greeks and foreigners.

13. There is also a story related in a poem by Aristeas son of Caystrobius, a man of Proconnesus. This Aristeas, being then possessed by Phoebus, visited the Issedones; beyond these (he said) dwell the one-eyed Arimaspians, beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. Except the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) ever make war upon their neighbours; the Issedones were pushed from their lands

<sup>1</sup> The name survives in "Crimea." The "Cimmerian ferry" is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov.

For some notice of geographical difficulties here and elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.

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ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἴπας, εἰρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήμον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακληίσαντα τὸ ἔργαστήριον οἰχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἥδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεὼς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἡκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ίόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατέειν, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήμον παρεῖναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναιρησομένους ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεια ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλιες αὗται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἴδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εῦρισκον. Μεταποντίνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλ-

by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

14. Whence Aristeas came who wrote this I have already said; I will now tell the story which I heard concerning him at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said that this Aristeas, who was as nobly born as any of his townsmen, went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the fuller shut his workshop and went away to tell the dead man's kinsfolk, and the report of Aristeas' death being now spread about in the city, it was disputed by a man of Cyzicus, who had come from the town of Artace,<sup>1</sup> and said that he had met Aristeas going towards Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he vehemently disputed, the kinsfolk of the dead man had come to the fuller's shop with all that was needful for burial; but when the house was opened there was no Aristeas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and made that poem which the Greeks now call the Arimaspeia, after which he vanished once again.

15. Such is the tale told in these two towns. But this, I know, befell the Metapontines in Italy, two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as reckoning made at Proconnesus and Metapontium shows me: Aristeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and bade them set up an altar to Apollo, and set

<sup>1</sup> A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.

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λωνος ἴδρυσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκούνησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἵστανται· φάναι γάρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἐπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δέ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὅ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἔσταστὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἴδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νῦν πέρι τοσαῦτα είρησθω.

16. Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς πέρι ὅδε ὁ λόγος δρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οὔδε ἀτρεκέως ὅ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἔστι· οὐδενὸς γάρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ δλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρῳ Ἰστηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἐπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰστηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ᾽ οὗτον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρησται.

17. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γάρ τῶν παραβαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἔστι πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι μέμονται ἔοντες "Ελληνες Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ

beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

16. As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies northward of it; for I can learn from none who claims to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristeas, of whom I lately made mention—even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, no, not even in his poems; but he spoke of what lay northward by hearsay; saying that the Issedones had so told him. But as far as we have been able to hear an exact report of the farthest lands, all shall be set forth.

17. Northward of the port of the Borysthenites,<sup>1</sup> which lies midway in the coastline of all Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other

<sup>1</sup> Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.

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οἱ Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμια καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

18. Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Τπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος· ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τον Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Τλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀνω ἴόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἑλληνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Τπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεῖτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ολβιοπολίτας. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἡμερέων ἔνδεκα. ἥδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολλόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ανδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὸν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικὸν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἥδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

19. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν, νομάδες ἥδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπείροντες οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀροῦντες. ψιλὴ δὲ δευδρέων ἡ πᾶσα αὕτη πλὴν τῆς Τλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὡδὸν νέμονται χώρην κατατείνουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

20. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεύ-

matters they live like the Scythians, sow and eat corn, and onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones dwell Scythian tillers of the land, who sow corn not for eating but for selling; north of these, the Neuri; to the north of the Neuri the land is uninhabited so far as we know.

18. These are the tribes by the river Hypanis,<sup>1</sup> westwards of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these dwell Scythian farmers, whom the Greek dwellers on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching eastward a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,<sup>2</sup> and northward as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is uninhabited for a long way; after which desert is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation by themselves and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true desert, wherein no nation of men dwells, as far as we know.

19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, cross the river Panticapes, and you are in the land of nomad Scythians, who sow nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit to the eastward a country that stretches fourteen days' journey to the river Gerrus.<sup>3</sup>

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

<sup>1</sup> The Bug.   <sup>2</sup> Not identified.   <sup>3</sup> Not identified.

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μενα βασιλήια ἔστι καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοι τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐν τὴν Ταυρικήν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἥω ἐπὶ τε τάφρου, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὥρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναιν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς Βορέην ἀνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελαγχλαῖνοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαῖνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἔστι ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

21. Τάναιν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἔστι, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς Βορέην ἀνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δευδρέων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες Βουδίνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν ὑλὴ παντοίη.

22. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς Βορέην ἔστι πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἀνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον ξώσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὖνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ξῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· λοχῆ ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάσι, τὰ δὲ ἔστι πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἴνεκα ἔτοιμος ἔστι καὶ κύων ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδη τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δευδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπι-

Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs<sup>1</sup>; and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

21. Across the Tanais it is no longer Scythia; the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey to the north, and is all bare of both forest and garden trees. Above these in the second division dwell the Budini, inhabiting a country thickly overgrown with trees of all kinds.

22. Northward of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days' journey; after this desert, and somewhat more towards the east wind, dwell the Thyssagetae, a numerous and a separate nation, living by the chase. Adjoining these and in the same country dwell the people called Iyrkae; these also live by the chase, in such manner as I will show. The hunter climbs a tree, and there sits ambushed; for trees grow thick all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to couch upon its belly for lowliness' sake, and his dog; and when he marks the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov;  
cp. 110.

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βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται.  
ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέ-  
ουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν Βασιληίων Σκυθέων  
ἀποστάντες καὶ οὗτοι ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν  
χῶρον.

23. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων  
χώρης ἐστὶ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ  
καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ τρηχέα. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χώρης  
πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὄρέων ὑψηλῶν ἀνθρωποι  
λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γινό-  
μενοι, καὶ ἕρσενες καὶ θήλεαι ὄμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἴδιην οὔντες,  
ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup>  
δευδρέων. ποντικὸν μὲν οὔνομα τῷ δευδρέῳ ἀπ  
οὐ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκέην μάλιστά κῃ.  
καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμῳ ἵσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει.  
τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἴματίοισι,  
ἀπορρέει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν οὔνομα  
δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυτον τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι  
καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθεῖσι  
καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ  
πολλά ἐστι· οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι αἱ νομαὶ αὐτόθι  
εἰσὶ. ὑπὸ δευδρέῳ δὲ ἔκαστος κατοικηται, τὸν  
μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πίλῳ  
στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἀνευ πίλου. τούτους  
οὐδεὶς ἀδικέει ἀνθρώπων· ἵροὶ γάρ λέγονται εἶναι.  
οὐδέ τι ἀρίμονον ὅπλον ἔκτεαται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν  
τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς

bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, and the dog follows closely after. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

23. As far as the country of these Scythians all the aforesaid land is level and its soil is deep; but thereafter it is stony and rough. After a long passage through this rough country, there are men inhabiting the foothills of high mountains, who are said to be all bald from their birth (male and female alike) and snub-nosed and with long beards; they speak a tongue of their own, and wear Scythian raiment, and their fare comes from trees. The tree wherefrom they live is called "Pontic"; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid flows from it, which they call "aschu"<sup>1</sup>; they lick this up or mix it with milk for drinking, and of the thickest of the lees of it they make cakes, and eat them. For they have but few of smaller cattle, the pasture in their land not being good. They dwell each man under a tree, covering it in winter with a white felt cloth, but using no felt in summer. These people are wronged by no man, for they are said to be sacred; nor have they any weapon of war. These are they who judge in the quarrels between their neighbours; moreover, what-

<sup>1</sup> The fruit of the "Pronus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."

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διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ ὃς ἀν φεύγων καταφύγη ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται. οὔνομα δέ σφι ἔστι Ἀργιππαῖοι.

24. Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείη τῆς χώρης ἔστι καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθε ἔθνεων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπόν ἔστι πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεός τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἀν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἐπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἐπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

25. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὅρεα γάρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκεῖεν τὰ ὅρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἔξαμηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰστηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰστηδόνων, εἴ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰστηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατήρ, οἱ προσηκούτες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἐπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα ψονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθῆραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπέ άγαλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες.

ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

24. Now as far as the land of these bald men we have full knowledge of the country and the nations on the hither side of them; for some of the Scythians make their way to them, from whom it is easy to get knowledge, and from some too of the Greeks from the Borysthenes port and the other ports of Pontus; such Scythians as visit them do their business with seven interpreters and in seven languages.

25. So far then as these men this country is known; but, for what lies north of the bald men, no one can speak with exact knowledge; for mountains high and impassable bar the way, and no man crosses them. These bald men say (but for my part I believe them not) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet; and that beyond these again are men who sleep for six months of the twelve. This I cannot at all accept for true. But the country east of the bald-heads is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones; howbeit, of what lies northward either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, save what comes from the report of these latter.

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones, that whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock, and having killed these and cut up the flesh they cut up also the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mingled together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and cleanse and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, whereto they offer yearly solemn sacrifice. Every

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παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατά περ Ἑλληνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἵστορας δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουνοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας εἶναι παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἄριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὄφθαλμόν.

28. Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὗτω δὴ τι ἔστι, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἵος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὅδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν<sup>1</sup> ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγυνται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς ταφρού Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. οὗτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμῶν ἐών, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἔστι. κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι, ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὥραιην οὐκ ἔει λόγου μένειν οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕων οὐκ ἀνεῖ. βροντάι τε ἡμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὡς τέρας νενομίσται θωμάζεσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενόμισται. ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίοινοι

<sup>1</sup> [πηλόν] Stein.

son does so by his father, even as the Greeks in their festivals in honour of the dead. For the rest, these also are said to be a law-abiding people; and the women have equal power with the men.

27. Of these then also we have knowledge; but for what is northward of them, it is from the Issedones that the tale comes of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we again have taken it for true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, Arimaspians; for in the Scythian tongue *arima* is one, and *spou* is the eye.

28. All this aforementioned country is exceeding cold; for eight months of every year there is frost unbearable, and in these you shall not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, and all the Cimmerian Bosporus; and the Scythians dwelling this side of the fosse lead armies over the ice, and drive their wains across to the land of the Sindi. So it is ever winter for eight months, and it is cold in that country for the four that remain. Here is a winter of a different sort from the winters that come in other lands; for in the season for rain there falls scarce any, but for all the summer there is rain unceasing; and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there is great plenty of them; if there come a thunderstorm in winter they are wont to marvel at it for a portent. And so too if there come an earthquake, be it in summer or winter, it is esteemed a portent in Scythia. Horses have endurance to bear the Scythian winter, mules

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δὲ οὐδὲ ὅνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχῆν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ  
ἴπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἔστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι,  
ὅνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

29. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ  
κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρέει  
δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὁμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ  
ἔχον ὥδε,

καὶ Διβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέ-  
θουσι,

ὁρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγί-  
νεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ  
οὐ φύειν κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχῆν ἢ φύοντα φύειν  
μόγις.

30. Ἐνθαῦτα μέν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται  
ταῦτα. Θωμάζω δέ (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λό-  
γος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἡλείῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ  
οὐ δυνέαται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ  
χώρου ἔόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός.  
Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἡλεῖοι ἐκ κατάρης τεν οὐ γίνεσθαι  
σφίσι ἡμίονους, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίη ἢ ὥρη κυ-  
σκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιο-  
χώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἐπειτά σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας  
ἐπιεῖσι τοὺς ὅνους, ἐς οὐ ἀν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν  
γαστρί ἐπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι  
ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἡέρα, καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα οὐκ  
οἷοι τε εἶναι οὔτε ἴδειν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπείρου οὔτε  
διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τὰ κατ-  
ύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσοντι  
δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός.  
ηδη ὡν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πίπτουσαν

and asses cannot at all bear it; yet in other lands, whereas asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

29. And to my thinking it is for this cause that the hornless kind of oxen grows no horns in Scythia. There is a verse of Homer in the *Odyssey* that witnesses to my judgment; it is this:

"Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads,"

wherein it is rightly signified, that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts grow horns hardly, or not at all.

30. In Scythia, then, this happens because of the cold. But I hold it strange (for it was ever the way of my history to seek after subsidiary matters) that in the whole of Elis no mules can be begotten, albeit neither is the country cold nor is there any manifest cause. The Eleans themselves say that it is by reason of a curse that mules cannot be begotten among them; but whenever the season is at hand for the mares to conceive, they drive them away into the countries of their neighbours, and then send the asses to them in the neighbouring land, till the mares be pregnant; and then they drive them home again.

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for

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είδε, οἶδε τὸ λέγων ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιῶν πτεροῖσιν καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἔοντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὡν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

32. Τπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν. ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουνοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Τπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἐστι δὲ καὶ Ομήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοιστι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἔοντι γε "Ομηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

33. Πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἴρα ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν ἐξ Τπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἥδη δεκομένους αἱεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἵκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Αδρίην, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ελλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εῦβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρυστού, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν "Ανδρον· Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέεσθαι μέν νυν οὕτω

the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

32. Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones. And, as I think, even they tell nothing; for were it not so, then the Scythians too would have told, even as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem *The Heroes' Sons*,<sup>1</sup> if that be truly the work of Homer.

33. But the Delians<sup>2</sup> tell much more concerning them than do any others. They say that offerings wrapt in wheat-straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when they have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbours till they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; thence they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and city sends them on to city till they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for it is Carystians who carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. Thus (they

<sup>1</sup> One of the "Cyclic" poems; a sequel to the "Thebais" (story of the seven against Thebes).

<sup>2</sup> This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.

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ταῦτα τὰ ἵρα λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρῶτον δε τοὺς  
Τπερβορέους τέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἵρα δὺο κόρας,  
τὰς ὄνομάζουσι Δῆλοι εἶναι Τπερόχην τε καὶ  
Λαοδίκην· ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀσφαλεῖης ἔνεκεν  
πέμψαι τοὺς Τπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας  
πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες καλέ-  
ονται τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δῆλῳ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
τοῖσι Τπερβορέοισι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὅπίσω  
οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰὲν  
καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι,  
οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὔρους τὰ ἵρα ἐνδεδε-  
μένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους  
ἐπισκήπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ  
ἔωστῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προ-  
πεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. οἴδα  
δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἵροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον  
προσφερές, τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας  
γυναικας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ,  
οὐκ ἀνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἔχούσας τὰ ἵρα.

34. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτας οἴδα ποιεύσας  
τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῇσι ἐξ Τπερβορέων  
τελευτησάσησι ἐν Δῆλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι  
καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλό-  
καμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἀτρακτον εἰλί-  
ξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω  
ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς, ἐπι-  
πέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίη), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων,  
περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι  
καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

35. Αύταις μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς  
τῶν Δῆλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι  
καὶ τὴν Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὁπιν ἐούσας παρθέ-

say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, sending with them for safe conduct five men of their people as escort, those who are now called Perpherees<sup>1</sup> and greatly honoured at Delos. But when the Hyperboreans found that those whom they sent never returned, they were very ill content that it should ever be their fate not to receive their messengers back; wherefore they carry the offerings, wrapt in wheat-straw, to their borders, and charge their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings, namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have wheat-straw with them while they sacrifice.

34. This I know that they do. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honour of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb, wound about a spindle; this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis; the Delian boys twine some of their hair round a green stalk, and they likewise lay it on the tomb.

35. Thus then are these maidens honoured by the inhabitants of Delos. These same Delians relate that two virgins, Arge and Opis, came from the

<sup>1</sup> That is, probably, the Bearers.

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νους ἔξ "Τπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους  
 ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι  
 πρότερον Τπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας  
 μέν νυν τῇ Εἰδειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἑτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
 "Αργην τε καὶ τὴν "Οπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι  
 ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμᾶς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι  
 πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναικας  
 ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὅμινῳ τὸν σφι  
 "Ολὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μα-  
 θόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ "Ιωνας ὁμιέειν "Οπίν τε  
 καὶ "Αργην ὄνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὗτος  
 δὲ ὁ "Ολὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὅμινους  
 ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν  
 Δῆλῳ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ  
 βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν Θήκην τῆς  
 "Οπιός τε καὶ "Αργης ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλο-  
 μένην. ἡ δὲ Θήκη αὐτέων ἔστι διπισθε τοῦ Αρτε-  
 μισίου, πρὸς ἡῶ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ  
 Κηίων ίστιητορίου.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν "Τπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω  
 τὸν γὰρ περὶ Αβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι  
 "Τπερβορέου οὐ λέγω. ως<sup>1</sup> τὸν διστὸν περιέφερε  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 ὑπερβόρεοι τινὲς ἀνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι  
 ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας  
 πολλοὺς ἥδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως ἔξηγησά-  
 μενον· οἱ Οκεανόν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν  
 γῆν ἔσυσται κυκλοτερέα ώς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν  
 "Ασίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ίσην. ἐν δλίγοισι  
 γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ  
 οἵ τις ἔστι ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Ilithyia the tribute whereto they had bound themselves for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,<sup>1</sup> and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge; which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

36. Thus far have I spoken of the Hyperboreans, and let it suffice; for I do not tell the story of that Abaris, alleged to be a Hyperborean, who carried the arrow over the whole world, fasting the while. But if there be men beyond the north wind, then there are others beyond the south. And I laugh to see how many have ere now drawn maps of the world, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean, and Asia and Europe of a like bigness. For myself, I will in a few words show the extent of the two, and how each should be drawn.

<sup>1</sup> Apollo and Artemis, probably.

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37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μῆδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκτὰς διφάσιαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἡ αὐτὴ αὔτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκην κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἀκρης. οἰκέει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39. Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ ἐτέρη τῶν ἀκτέων, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀράβιη· λίγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λίγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσιγγαγε. μέχρι μέν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατυς καὶ πολλὸς ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾶν ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

40. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς Ἀσίης ἔχοντα ἐστί· τὰ δὲ κατυπερθε Περ-

37. The land where the Persians dwell reaches to the southern sea, that sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspes, and beyond the Saspes the Colchians, whose country reaches to the northern sea<sup>1</sup> into which issues the river Phasis; so these four nations dwell between the one sea and the other.

38. But westwards of this region two peninsulas stretch out from it into the sea, which I will now describe. On the north side one of the peninsulas begins at the Phasis and stretches seaward along the Pontus and the Hellespont, as far as Sigeum in the Troad; on the south side the same peninsula has a seacoast beginning at the Myriandric gulf that is near Phoenice, and stretching seaward as far as the Triopian headland. On this peninsula dwell thirty nations.

39. This is the first peninsula. But the second, beginning with Persia, stretches to the Red Sea, being the Persian land, and next the neighbouring country of Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; this peninsula ends (yet not truly but only by common consent) at the Arabian Gulf, whereunto Darius brought a canal from the Nile. Now from the Persian country to Phoenice there is a wide and great tract of land; and from Phoenice this peninsula runs beside our sea by the way of the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, which is at the end of it; in this peninsula there are but three nations.

43. So much for the parts of Asia west of the Persians. But what is beyond the Persians, and

<sup>1</sup> Here, the Black Sea; in 42 the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.

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σέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπείρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἐνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμός, ἦών πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίη τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἥδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἷον δῆ τι ἐστί.

41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἐστί, ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἴγυπτου Λιβύη ἥδη ἐκδέκεται, κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὐτῆ στεινή ἐστι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὄργυιέων, αὗται δ' ἀν εἰεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἧτις Λιβύη κέκληται.

42. Θωμάζω δὲ τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί· μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὔρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίη φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν<sup>1</sup> ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν δοσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἴγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος· δος ἐπείτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο δρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεπψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὅπίστω δι· Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἔως ἐς τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὀρμηθέντες δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπλεων

<sup>1</sup> [ἐωυτὴν] Stein.

Medes, and Saspes, and Colchians, eastward and toward the rising sun, this is bounded on the one hand by the Red Sea, and to the north by the Caspian Sea, and the river Araxes, that flows towards the sun's rising. As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land; but thereafter all to the east is desert, nor can any man say what kind of land is there.

41. Such is Asia and such its extent. But Libya is on this second peninsula; for Libya comes next after Egypt. The Egyptian part of this peninsula is narrow; for from our sea to the Red Sea it is a distance of an hundred thousand fathoms, that is, a thousand furlongs; but after this narrow part the peninsula which is called Libya is very broad.

42. I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be beyond all comparison broader. For Libya shows clearly that it is encompassed by the sea, save only where it borders on Asia; and this was proved first (as far as we know) by Necos king of Egypt. He, when he had made an end of digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent Phoenicians in ships, charging them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles till they should come into the northern sea and so to Egypt. So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and

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τὴν ποτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον, προσσχόντες ἀν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μενεσκον τὸν ἄμητον θερίσαντες δ' ἀν τὸν σῖτον ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἑτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτει κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκουτο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἀλλῷ δὲ δῆ τεῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ὥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

43. Οὕτω μὲν αὗτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείσ, ἀλλὰ δείσας τὸ τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε ὅπίσω, οὐδὲ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μῆτηρ ἄεθλον. Θυγατέρα γάρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβιήσατο παρθένον· ἐπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἵτίην ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω βασιλέος, ἡ μῆτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐσύστα Δαρείου ἀδελφεὴ παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἡ περ ἐκεῖνον· Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς δὲ ἀν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας· διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ οὖνομα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περή-

sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and sow the land, to whatever part of Libya they might come, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered in the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the Pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.<sup>1</sup>

43. Thus the first knowledge of Libya was gained. The next story is that of the Carchedonians: for as for Sataspes son of Teaspes, an Achaemenid, he did not sail round Libya, though he was sent for that end; but he feared the length and the loneliness of the voyage and so returned back without accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother. For he had raped the virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus; and when on this charge he was to be impaled by King Xerxes, Sataspes' mother, who was Darius' sister, begged for his life, saying that she would lay a heavier punishment on him than did Xerxes; for he should be compelled to sail round Libya, till he completed his voyage and came to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes agreeing to this, Sataspes went to Egypt, where he received a ship and a crew from the Egyptians, and sailed past the Pillars of Heracles. Having sailed out beyond them, and rounded the Libyan promontory called Solois,<sup>2</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> The detail which Herodotus does not believe incidentally confirms the story; as the ship sailed west round the Cape of Good Hope, the sun of the southern hemisphere would be on its right. Most authorities now accept the story of the circumnavigation.

\* Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.

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σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλήν ἐν πολλοῖσι μησὶ, ἐπείτε τοῦ πλεύνος αἱεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὅπιστος ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε φὰς τὰ προσωτάτῳ αὐθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικήῃ διαχρεωμένους, οἱ δὲ σφεῖς καταγοίατο τῇ νηὶ φευγεσκον πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὗτοὶ δὲ ἀδικέειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μοῦνα ἔξι αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλώσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐδὲν δυνατὸν ἔτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεσθαι. Ξέρξης δὲ οὐδὲν οἰ συγγενώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκέιμενον ἀεθλὸν ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὔνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπίθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτήκοτα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνήρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ ούνομα ἐκῶν ἐπιλήθομαι.

44. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἔξευρέθη, θεοὺς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, θεοὺς κροκοδεῖλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῷ πάντων παρέχεται, τούτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστενε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. οἱ δὲ ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς ἐπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἴγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλώσειν Λιβύην. μετὰ

sailed southward; but when he had been many months sailing far over the sea, and ever there was more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Thence coming to Xerxes, he told in his story how when he was farthest distant he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf raiment; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, would ever leave their towns and flee to the hills; he and his men did no wrong when they landed, and took naught from the people but what they needed for eating. As to his not sailing wholly round Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stayed. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke truth, and as the task appointed was unfulfilled he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had an eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master's death escaped to Samos, with a great store of wealth, of which a man of Samos possessed himself. I know the man's name but of set purpose forgot it.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, which of all rivers comes second in producing crocodiles. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Paetyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After

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δὲ τούτους περιπλάσαντας Ἰνδούς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τὴν θαλάσσην ταύτην ἔχρατο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περίρρυτος εστί· μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρίκουνσα. οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπὶ οτευ μηδὲ ἐούσῃ γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιῆτην καὶ πορθμῆμα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ διθερ ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἥδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὔνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέους γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίεω τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλῆσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέους Ἀσίης· ἀπ' ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκλῆσθαι Ἀσιάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὄκόθεν τὸ οὔνομα ἐλαβε τούτο, οὔτε διστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίης φῆσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὔνομα τὴν χώρην· πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ὁσπερ αἱ ἔτεραι. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἥτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλέεται, ἀλλ' ὅσον

this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

45. But of Europe it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is encompassed by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. Nor can I guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all of women, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian river Nile and the Colchian river Phasis (though some say that the Maeotian river Tanais and the Cimmerian Ferries<sup>1</sup> are boundaries); nor can I learn the names of those who divided the world, or whence they got the names which they gave. For Libya is said by most Greeks to be called after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus<sup>2</sup>; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not called after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it be surrounded or not by seas, nor whence it took its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we are to say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (as it would seem) till then nameless like the others. But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call

<sup>1</sup> cp. ch. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Fire-giver celebrated by Aeschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in *Prometheus Unbound*.

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ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην.  
ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ  
νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

46. Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρα-  
τεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω  
τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὗτε γὰρ ἔθνος  
τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι  
σοφίης πέρι οὕτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενον,  
πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ  
δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τῷ μέγιστον τῶν ἀιθρω-  
πηίων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἔξεύρηται  
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι· τὸ  
δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν  
τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους  
τε ἔξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷόν τε εἶναι. τοῖσι  
γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἄλλὰ  
φερέοικοι ἔόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες  
μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἄλλον ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τε  
σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἀν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἀμαχοί  
τε καὶ ἀποροὶ προσμίσγειν;

47. Ἐξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἑούσης  
ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἔοντων σφι συμμάχων.  
ἡ τε γῆ ἑούσα πεδιὰς αὐτῇ ποιώδης τε καὶ  
εῦνδρος ἐστί, ποταμοί τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῷ  
τεφ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διωρύχων.  
ὅσοι δὲ ὄνομαστοί τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ  
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὄνομανέω<sup>1</sup> . . . . "Ιστρος  
μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ἄπαντας  
καὶ Βορυσθέντης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ἄπακυρις  
ταῦ Γέρρος καὶ Τάραντας. ῥέουσι δὲ οἵδε κατὰ τάδε.

48. Ιστρος μέν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων

<sup>1</sup> Something is omitted, εἰσὶ δὲ δικτῶ οἼη or the like.

Europe, but only from Phoenice to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus far have I spoken of these matters, and let it suffice ; we will use the names by custom established.

46. Nowhere are men seen so dull-witted (I say not this of the Scythian nation) as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus, against which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation within the region of the Pontus has aught of cleverness, nor do we know (not reckoning the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) of any notable man born there. But the Scythian race has in that matter which of all human affairs is of greatest import made the cleverest discovery that we know ; I praise not the Scythians in all respects, but in this greatest matter they have so devised that none who attacks them can escape, and none can catch them if they desire not to be found. For when men have no stablished cities or fortresses, but all are house-bearers and mounted archers, living not by tilling the soil but by cattle-rearing and carrying their dwellings on waggons, how should these not be invincible and unapproachable ?

47. This invention they have made in a land which suits their purpose and has rivers which are their allies ; for their country is level and grassy and well watered and rivers run through it not much less in number than the canals of Egypt. As many of them as are famous and can be entered from the sea, these I will name. . . . There is the Ister, that has five mouths, and next, the Tyras, and Hypanis, and Borysthenes, and Panticapes, and Hypaeuris, and Gerrhus, and Tanais. Their courses are as I will show.

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to

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τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ὃσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ  
 θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος  
 γέγονε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων  
 εἰσὶ δὴ οἵδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μὲν  
 γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες,  
 τόν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ελληνες δὲ  
 Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἀραρός τε  
 καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὁρδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος  
 λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγιας καὶ πρὸς ἥω ῥέων  
 ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὄδωρ, οἱ δὲ δεύτερος  
 λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἑσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ  
 ἐλασσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ  
 Ὁρδησσός διὰ μέσου τούτων ἴοντες ἐσβάλλουσι  
 ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον.

49. Οὗτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ  
 συμπληθύνουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις  
 ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
 Αἴμου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες  
 πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἄτλας  
 καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ  
 Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες Ἀθρυς καὶ Νόης  
 καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· ἐκ δὲ  
 Παιόνων καὶ δρεος Ροδόπης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσον  
 σχίζων τὸν Αἴμον ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν  
 δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς  
 ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν  
 Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον οὕτω ἀμφο-  
 τέρους ἔσντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ  
 τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὁμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς  
 καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον

us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus,<sup>1</sup> and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

49. These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the river Maris, which commingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi; the Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow northward from the heights of Haemus.<sup>2</sup> The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes issue into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzii in Thrace; the river Cius, which cuts through the midst of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. The river Angrus flows northward from Illyria into the Triballitic plain and the river Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister, which so receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici,

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names Κάρπης and Ἀλπη must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps.

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καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι εἰς αὐτόν· ῥέει γάρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

50. Τούτων ὡν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθει ἀποκρατεῖ. εἰς γάρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδοῦσα εἰς πλῆθος οἱ συμβάλλεται. ἵσος δὲ αἱεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ ὅσος περ ἐστί, ὀλίγῳ τε μέζων τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται· ὕεται γάρ η γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγῳ, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χράται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος η χιῶν η ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἔοισα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ εἰς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὕτη τε δὴ η χιῶν ἐσδιδοῦσα εἰς αὐτὸν συμπληθύει καὶ ὅμβροι πολλοί τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γάρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. δσω δὲ πλέον ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ ὕδωρ ὁ ἡλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρει η ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσούτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῳ πολλαπλήσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος η περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτίθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἵσον μν αἱεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἔοντα.

51. Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, δις ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀγέμου ὄρμάται, ἀρχεται δὲ ῥέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης η σύριζει τίν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηνται "Ελληνες οἱ Τυρῖται καλέονται.

to issue into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts who, save only the Cynetes, are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia.

50. Seeing, then, that these aforesaid rivers, and many others too, are its tributaries, the Ister becomes the greatest of all rivers; stream for stream, indeed, the Nile has a greater volume, for no river or spring joins it to swell its volume of water. But the Ister is ever of the same height in summer and winter, whereof I think this to be the reason. In winter it is of its customary size, or only a little greater than is natural to it, for in that country in winter there is very little rain, but snow everywhere. But in the summer the abundant snow which has fallen in winter melts and pours from all sides into the Ister; so this snow pours into the river and helps to swell it with much violent rain besides, the summer being the season of rain. And in the same degree as the sun draws to itself more water in summer than in winter, the water that commingles with the Ister is many times more abundant in summer than it is in winter; these opposites keep the balance true, so that the volume of the river appears ever the same.

51. One of the rivers of the Scythians, then, is the Ister. The next is the Tyras<sup>1</sup>; this comes from the north, flowing at first out of a great lake, which is the boundary between the Scythian and the Neurian countries; at the mouth of the river there is a settlement of Greeks, who are called Tyritae.

<sup>1</sup> The Dniester.

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52. Τρίτος δὲ Ἄπανις ποταμὸς ὄρμαται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμουνται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοὶ καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὄρθως μήτηρ Ἄπανιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὡν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ἄπανις ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόσον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἔστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόσον πικρὸς δεινῶς· ἐκδίδοι γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρή, οὕτω δῆ τι ἐοῦσα πικρή, η μεγάθει σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα κίρυψ τὸν Ἄπανιν ἔοντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὔροισι χώρῃς τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὐνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν Ἰραί ὄδοι. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὁ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ἄπανις κατὰ Ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἐκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, ὃς ἔστι τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἰστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γυνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὐτὶ μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἴα τε ἔστι συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἔστι πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἱχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστος ἔστι, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρη, βαθυτάτη· ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πήγματα ἄπλετοι κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν.

52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians<sup>1</sup> and the Alazones; the name of it and of the place whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow divergent, making the intervening space wider.

53. The fourth is the river Borysthenes. This is the next greatest of them after the Ister, and the most serviceable, according to our judgment, not only of the Scythian rivers but of all, except the Egyptian Nile, with which no other river can be compared. But of the rest the Borysthenes is the most serviceable; it provides for beasts the fairest pasture lands and best nurturing, and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and their abundance. Its water is most sweet to drink, flowing with a clear current, whereas the other rivers are turbid. There is excellent tilth on its banks, and very rich grass where the land is not sown; and self-formed crusts of salt abound at its mouth; it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for the

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 17.

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ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μὲν νῦν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἔστι, γινώσκεται ρέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δί' ὃν ρέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ρέων δι' ἑρήμουν ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μούνον δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νεῖλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἐλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ρέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ "Τπανις ἐς τῶντὸ ἔλος ἐκδιδούς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐօν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἵρὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἵρου ἐπὶ τῷ "Τπάνι Βορυσθένεῖται κατοίκηται.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὐνομα Παντικάπης, ρέει μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν "Τλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένει συμμίσγεται.

55. "Εκτος δὲ "Τπάκυρις ποταμός, ὃς ὄρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ρέων ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινῖτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τὴν τε "Τλαίην καὶ τὸν "Αχιλλίου δρόμον καλεόμενον.

56. "Εβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται

salting, and many other wondrous things besides. Its course is from the north, and there is knowledge of it as far as the Gerrhan land, that is, for forty days' voyage; beyond that, no man can say through what nations it flows; but it is plain that it flows through desert country to the land of the farming Scythians, who dwell beside it for a ten days' voyage. This is the only river, besides the Nile, whereof I cannot say what is the source; nor, I think, can any Greek. When the stream of the Borysthenes comes near the sea, the Hypanis mingles with it, issuing into the same marsh; the land between these rivers, where the land projects like a ship's beak, is called Hippolaus' promontory; a temple of Demeter stands there. The settlement of the Borystheneitae is beyond the temple, on the Hypanis.

54. This is the knowledge that comes to us from these rivers. After these there is a fifth river called Panticapas; this also flows from the north out of a lake, and the land between it and the Borysthenes is inhabited by the farming Scythians; it issues into the Woodland country; which having passed it mingles with the Borysthenes.

55. The sixth is the river Hypacuris,<sup>1</sup> which rises from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomad Scythians issues out near the city of Carcine, bordering on its right the Woodland and the region called the Racecourse of Achilles.

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The "city of Carcine" lay at the eastern end of the Scythian sea-coast, close to the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.

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μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης  
ἔσ δι γηνώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης ἀπέσχισται μέν  
νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὔνομα δὲ ἔχει τὸ περ  
ὁ χῶρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, φέων δὲ ἔσ θάλασσαν  
οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώρην καὶ τὴν τῶν  
βασιληίων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἔσ τὸν "Τπάκυριν.

57. Ογδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναις ποταμός, δις ῥέει τάνε-  
καθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὄρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἔσ  
μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, ἡ οὐρίζει  
Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληίους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἔσ  
δὲ Τάναιν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ  
οὔνομα ἔστι "Τργις.

58. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ διομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὗτῳ  
δή τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται, τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἡ  
ποίη ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἔστι ἐπιχολω-  
τάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνοιγο-  
μένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι  
τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτῳ σφι εὖπορα ἔστι,  
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται.  
θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε Πλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν  
μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν  
τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναικα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀπόλ-  
λωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα  
καὶ Ἀρέα. τουτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομί-  
κασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ  
Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. διομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰσ-  
τίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὄρθότata κατὰ γηνώμην  
γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπέ.  
Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη  
Ἀργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγημασάδας. ἀγάλ-

the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hypsacuris.

57. The eighth is the river Tanais<sup>1</sup>; this in its upper course begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Saromatae; another river, called Hyrgis,<sup>2</sup> is a tributary of this Tanais.

58. These are the rivers of name with which the Scythians are provided. For the rearing of cattle the grass growing in Scythia is the most bile-making of all pastures known to us; it can be judged by the opening of the bodies of the cattle that this is so.

59. The Scythians then have what most concerns them ready to hand. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice also to Poseidon. In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti: Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaeus<sup>3</sup>; Earth is Api, Apollo Goetosyrus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Argimpasa, and Poseidon

<sup>1</sup> The Don.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the "Syrgis" of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.

<sup>3</sup> As the "All-Father"; cp. such words as *wāras*, *wāris*, etc.

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ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν πλὴν Ἀρεῖ τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60. Θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἵρα ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὅδε τὸ μὲν ἵριον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδις ἔστηκε, ὃ δὲ θύων ὅπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἔστεῶς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἵριον ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἀνθύῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπινύει, οὕτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὕτε καταρξάμενος οὗτ' ἐπισπείσας ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν.

61. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλον ἔουσης ὡδὲ σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἔξευρηται· ἐπειδὴν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἵρια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὄστέα τῶν κρεῶν, ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἦν μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεικέλους, χωρὶς ἡ ὅτι πολλῷ μέζονας· ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὄστέα τῶν ἵριών. ἦν δὲ μή σφι παρῇ ὁ λέβητος, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἵριών ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὄστέα· τὰ δὲ αἰθεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐψιλωμένα τῶν ὄστέων· καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἔωυτὸν ἔξεψει καὶ τὰλλα ἵρια ἔωυτὸν ἔκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι

Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

60. In all their sacred services alike they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered. The victim itself stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by plucking the end of the rope; as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose round the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the firstfruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and flayed the beast, he sets about cooking it.

61. Now the Scythian land is wondrous bare of wood: so this is their device for cooking the flesh. When they have flayed the victims, they strip the flesh from the bones and throw it into the cauldrons of the country, if they have such: these are most like to Lesbian bowls, save that they are much bigger; into these then they throw the flesh, and cook it by lighting a fire beneath with the bones of the victims. But if they have no cauldron, then they cast all the flesh into the victim's stomachs, adding water thereto, and make a fire beneath of the bones, which burn finely; the stomachs easily hold the flesh when it is stripped from the bones; thus an ox serves to cook itself, and every other victim does likewise. When the flesh is cooked, the sacrificer takes the firstfruits of the flesh and the entrails and casts it before him. They use all beasts of the flock for sacrifice, but chiefly horses.

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other

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καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἀρεῖ ὥδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφι Ἀρεος ἴρὸν τοιόνδε· φρυγάνιν φάκελοι συννενέαται ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὐρος, ὕψος δὲ ἑλασσον· ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἀπεδον πεποίηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἔστι ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβατόν. ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου ἀμάξιας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνιν· ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἰδρυται ἀρχαιος ἐκάστουσι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Ἀρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προθάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσιδ' ἔτε πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· δσους ἄν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρα θύουσι τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐτεροίῳ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οίνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφάξουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος καὶ ἐπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὅγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἴρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὄμοις πάντας ἀποταμούντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἡέρα ιεῖσι, καὶ ἐπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἴρημα ἀπαλλάσσονται. χείρ δὲ τῇ ἄν πέσῃ κεῖται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός.

63. Θυσίαι μέν νυν αὗται σφι κατεστᾶσι. οὐδὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲ νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

64. Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὥδε σφι διακέαται· ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον ἀνδρα καταβάλῃ ἀνὴρ

gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a structure sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this sacred pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred pile they cut off all the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

63. These then are their established fashions of sacrifice; but of swine these Seythians make no offerings; nor are they willing for the most part to rear them in their country.

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Seythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has

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Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, δόσους δὲ ἀν φορεύσῃ  
 ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ  
 βασιλέι. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληής  
 μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀν λάθωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὕ.  
 ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· περιταμῶν  
 κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὄτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 ἐκσείει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῆ δέψει τῇσι  
 χερσὶ, ὅργάσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἀτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτηται,  
 ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει,  
 ἐκ τούτου ἔξαπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· δος γὰρ ἀν  
 πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος  
 οὗτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-  
 δαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦστι, συρ-  
 ράπτοντες κατά περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν  
 ἔχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χεῖρας νεκρῶν ἔοντων ἀποδεί-  
 ραντες αὐτοῖσι δινυξὶ καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων  
 ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ  
 λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμ-  
 πρότατον λευκότητι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ δλους ἄνδρας  
 ἐκδείραντες καὶ διατέναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων  
 περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὗτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς  
 δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς, οὔτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἔχθιστων,  
 ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἐκαστος<sup>1</sup> πᾶν το ἔνερθε  
 τῶν ὄφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ πένης, ὃ δὲ  
 ἔξωθεν ὡμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται,  
 ἦν δὲ ἡ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὡμοβοέην περιτείνει,  
 ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ.  
 ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκήιων ἦν σφι  
 διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ  
 τῷ βασιλέι. Ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἀν λόγον

<sup>1</sup> [ἐκαστος] Stein.

overthrown. He carries to his king the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle; for he receives a share of the booty taken if he bring a head, but not otherwise. He scalps the head by making a cut round it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head off. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of an ox, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a napkin, fastening it to the bridle of the horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he is judged the best man who has most scalps for napkins. Many Scythians even make garments for wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coafs of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' right hands, and make thereof coverings for their quivers; it would seem that the human skin is thick and shining, of all skins, one may say, the brightest and whitest. There are many too that flay the skin from the whole body and carry it about on horseback stretched on a wooden frame.

65. The heads themselves, not of all but of their bitterest foes, they treat in this wise. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleanses the rest. If he be a poor man, then he does but cover the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he be rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and so uses it for a drinking-cup. Such cups a man makes also of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been at feud, and whom he has vanquished in single combat before the king; and if guests whom he

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ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἔόντες οἰκήμοι πόλεμον προσεθῆ-  
καντο καὶ σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην  
ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

66. "Απαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ὁ νομάρχης  
ἐκαστος ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ νουῳ κιρνᾷ κρητῆρα οἴνου,  
ἀπ' οὐ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἀν ἄνδρες  
πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι τοῖσι δ' ἀν μὴ κατερ-  
γασμένον οὐ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου,  
ἄλλοι τιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται ὅνειδος δέ σφι ἐστὶ  
μέγιστον τοῦτο. οἵσοι δὲ ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα  
πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ  
σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὅμοι.

67. Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἱ μαρ-  
τεύονται ράβδοισι ἵτείνησι πολλῆσι ὥδε ἐπεὰν  
φακέλους ράβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες  
χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκά-  
στην ράβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἀμα τε λέγοντες  
ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ράβδους ὅπιστο καὶ αὐτὶς  
κατὰ μίαν συντιθέσι. αὕτη μέν σφι η μαντικὴ  
πατρωίη ἐστί. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι τὴν  
Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι φι-  
λύρης δ' ὡν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται. ἐπεὰν τὴν  
φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύ-  
λοισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ.

68. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη,  
μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τους  
εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν  
μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληίας ίστιας ἐπιώρ-  
κηκε δις καὶ δις, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἀν δὴ  
λέγωσι. τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ίστιας νόμος Σκύθησι

honours visit him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him ; this they call manly valour.

66. Moreover once in every year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, whereof those Scythians drink who have slain enemies ; those who have not achieved this taste not this wine but sit apart dishonoured ; and this they count a very great disgrace ; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies, they have each two cups and so drink of them both.

67. There are among the Scythians many diviners, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations laying the rods down one by one ; and while they yet speak they gather up the rods once more and again place them together ; this manner of divination is hereditary among them. The Enareis, who are epicene, say that Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark. They cut this bark into three portions, and prophesy while they plait and unplait these in their fingers.

68. But whenever the king of the Scythians falls sick, he sends for the three diviners most in repute, who prophesy in the aforesaid manner ; and they for the most part tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it is of the people of the country) has forsaken himself by the king's hearth ; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is

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τὰ μάλιστα ἔστι ὁμιύναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον  
ὅρκον ἔθέλωσι ὁμιύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμ-  
μένος ἄγεται οὗτος τὸν ἀν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι,  
ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ώς ἐπιορκήσας  
φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληίας ίστιας καὶ  
διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ δὲ ἀρνέεται, οὐ  
φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογεῖται. ἀρνεο-  
μένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους  
διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσο-  
ρῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι,  
τοῦ δὲ θέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ  
χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν  
μαντίων· ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθοντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι,  
ἄλλοι πάρειστι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἦν ὧν οἱ  
πλεῦνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι  
πρώτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. Ἀπολλύσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε  
ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι  
βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χείρας  
ὅπιστο δίσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργυνῦσι ἐς  
μέσα τὰ φρύγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιεῖσι  
φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατα-  
καίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περι-  
κεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ρύμδος  
κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίονται δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας  
καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἀν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τού-  
των οὐδὲ τοὺς παιᾶς λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ  
ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θῆλεα οὐκ ἀδικέει.

70. Ὁρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὡδε πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀν ποιέωνται· ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἰνον  
ἔγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ταμ-

by the king's hearth that they are usually accustomed to swear. Forthwith the man whom they allege to be forsown is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have forsown himself by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he is forsown. So when he denies it the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, looking into their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then straightway he is behended and his goods are divided among the first diviners; but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and yet again others. If then the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners shall themselves be put to death.

69. And this is the manner of their death. Men yoke oxen to a waggon laden with sticks and make the diviners fast amid these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, affrighting them. Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the pole of their waggon is burnt through and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the manner aforesaid, calling them false prophets. When the king puts a man to death, neither does he leave the sons alive, but kills all the males of the family; to the females he does no hurt.

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement

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νομένων, τύφαντες ὑπέστι μαχαίρῃ  
σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐπειτα ἀποβάψαντες  
ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἄκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαρν  
καὶ ἀκόντιον ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύ-  
χονται πολλὰ καὶ ἐπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε  
οἱ τὸ ὅρκιον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ  
πλείστου ἄξιοι.

71. Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ἐς δὲ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἔστι προσπλωτός·<sup>1</sup> ἐνθαῦτα,  
ἐπεάν σφι ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅρυγμα γῆς μέγα<sup>1</sup>  
ὅρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιή-  
σαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρόν, κατακεκηρω-  
μένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν  
καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλένην κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ<sup>1</sup>  
θυμιήματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀνησου,  
συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς  
ἄλλο ἔθνος. οἱ δὲ ἀν παραδέξανται κομσθέντα  
τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεῦσι τά περ οἱ βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι·  
τοῦ ὧτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικέρονται,  
βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μετωπον καὶ ρῆνα κατα-  
μύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀιστοὺς δια-  
βυνέονται. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ  
τοῦ βασιλέος τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρ-  
χουσι· οἱ δέ σφι ἐπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἥλθον.  
ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες,  
ἐν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τῶν  
ἔθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. καὶ  
ἐπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἷχματα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν  
τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἐπειτα ρίψῃ

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* δ—προσπλωτός is bracketed by Stein, chiefly on the ground of inconsistency with ch. 53.

by making a little hole or cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a great earthenware bowl, wherein they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin ; and when this is done the makers of the sworn agreement themselves, and the most honourable of their followers, drink of the blood after solemn imprecations.

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground ; when this is ready they take up the dead man—his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense, and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again—and carry him on a waggon to another tribe. Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians ; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them ; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial. Then, having laid the dead in the tomb on a couch, they plant spears on each side of the body and lay across them wooden planks, which they then roof over with plaited oziers ; in the

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καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

72. Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὗτις ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἔγγενες· οὗτοι γάρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἢν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφι θεράποντες), τούτων ὃν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπέὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἔξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλᾶσι ἄχυρων καὶ συρράπτουσι. ἀψίδος δὲ ἡμίσυν ἐπὶ δυοῖς ξύλα στήσαντες ὑππιον καὶ τὸ ἔτερον ἡμίσυν τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἔτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἐπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας· τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὄμοις τῶν ἵππων, αἱ δὲ διπλισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμα ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἔκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὅδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου

open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one another to make this as great as may be.

72. With the completion of a year they begin a fresh practice. Taking the trustiest of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those serve the king whom he bids so to do, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) they strangle fifty of these squires and fifty of their best horses and empty and cleanse the bellies of all, fill them with chaff, and sew them up again. Then they make fast the half of a wheel to two posts, the hollow upwards, and the other half to another pair of posts, till many posts thus furnished are planted in the ground, and, presently, driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they lay the horses aloft on the wheels so that the wheel in front supports the horse's shoulders and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths they stretch the bridles to the front and make them fast with pegs. Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through each

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παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὥρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχῆλου· κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τόρμον πηγυνύουσι τοῦ ἔτερου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἵππέας τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

73. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτῳ προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξῃσι κειμένους· τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι δσα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἴδιωται περιάγουνται, ἐπειτα θάπτονται. θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρουνται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πίλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων.

74. Ἐστι δέ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφέρεστατη· ταύτη δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὗτη καὶ αὐτομάτῃ καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εῖματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδὲ ἄν, δστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἡ καννάβιος ἐστί· διὸ δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ είμα.

75. Ταύτης ὧν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ

body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

73. Such is their way of burying their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in waggons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are thus borne about for forty days and then buried. After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as I will show: they anoint and wash their heads; as for their bodies, they set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with woollen mats; then, in the place so enclosed to the best of their power, they make a pit in the centre beneath the poles and the mats and throw red-hot stones into it.

74. They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, save that the hemp is by much the thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their sowing, and of it the Thracians even make garments which are very like linen; nor could any, save he were a past master in hemp, know whether they be hempen or linen; whoever has never yet seen hemp will think the garment to be linen.

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the mats, they throw it

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τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρὶ· τὸ δὲ θυμαῖται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἂν μν πυρίη ἀποκρατήσειε. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ ὡρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἔστι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. αἱ δὲ γυναικες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσαι κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἐπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὸν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἄμα μὲν εὐωδίη σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἄμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσαι τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὴν γίνονται καθαραὶ καὶ λαμπραί.

76. Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἦκιστα, ώς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσίς τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτις Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπείτε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξαμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον· καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὄρτὴν μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὕξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἦν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταύτα κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεῦντας καὶ πανυυχίδα στίσειν. ώς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν, καταδὺς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἄλαιην (ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἔοῦσα δειδρέων παντοίων πλέῃ), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδὺς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὄρτὴν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. καὶ τῶν τεις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς

on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in their joy at the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for they never wash their bodies with water. But their women pound on a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so pounded they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and particularly of Hellas, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a small drum and hanging about himself images. Then some

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αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλέι Σαυλίῳ  
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν  
ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ  
νῦν ἦν τις εἰρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασί μιν  
Σκύθαι γνωσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο δτὶ ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξενικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρῆσταο. ὡς  
δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου,  
εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος  
πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ  
Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὧν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ  
Ἀνάχαρσις, ἵστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών.  
Ἰδάνθυρσος γάρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαυλίος δὲ ἦν  
ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινά ἥδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων  
βασιλέος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
μαθητὴς γένουιτο, ὅπιστο τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη  
πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλληνας πάντας ἀσχό-  
λους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονιῶν,  
τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ  
δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως  
πέπλασται ὑπὸ αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δὲ ὧν ἀνήρ  
ῶσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

78. Οὗτος μέν νυν οὗτος δὴ ἐπρηξε διὰ ξενικά  
τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὄμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ  
κάρτα ἔτεσι ὑστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπαθε  
παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπείθει γάρ τῷ Σκυθέων  
βασιλέι γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ  
Ιστριηνῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
ἐγχωρίης τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη γλώσσαν τε Ἑλλάδα  
καὶ γράμματα ἔδιδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὑστερον

Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrsus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

77. It is true that I have heard another story told by the Pelponnesians; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a learner of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were zealous for every kind of learning, save only the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. But this is a tale vainly invented by the Greeks themselves; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.

78. Such-like, then, was the fortune that befell Anacharsis, all for his foreign usages and his companionship with Greeks; and a great many years afterwards, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria,<sup>1</sup> and not native-born; and she taught him to speak and read Greek.

<sup>1</sup> In what is now the Dobrudja.

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Αριαπείθης μὲν τέλευτᾶ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπείθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέος, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιληὴν παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναικα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖν ομα ἦν Ὁποίη ἦν δὲ αὗτη ἡ Ὁποίη ἀστή, ἐξ ἦς ἦν Ὁρικος Ἀριαπείθει παῖς. βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτῃ οὐδαμῶς ἥρεσκετο Σκυθικῆ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαίδευτο, ἐποίεε τε τοιοῦτον εὗτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἄστυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους), ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλητίσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἀν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, ἔχων δ' ἀν ταύτην ἱγόραζε οὕτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὕτε ἄλλου οὐδενός· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τις μην Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχράτο διαίτῃ Ἑλληνικῆ καὶ θεοῖσι ἵρᾳ ἐποίεε κατὰ νομοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. ὅτε δὲ διατρίψει μῆνα ἡ πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν. ταῦτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθένει καὶ γυναικα ἔγημε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

79. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἔδει οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσῳ Βακχείῳ τελεσθῆναι μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἀγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖτέων τῇ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῇς καὶ διλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην είχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγεις τε καὶ γρῦπες ἔστασαν ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς

As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, whose name was Opoea, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Scythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the townsmen unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white marble; this house was

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ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἶνεκα ἥσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι "Ελλησι ὄνειδίζουσι· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἔξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενεῖτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων "Ἡμῶν γάρ καταγελάτε, ὃ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ δαιμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάθηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἐπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω." εἶποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστεῶτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγόντες ὁ Βορυσθενεῖτης λάθρη ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆμε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἶδόν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἔξελθόντες δὲ ἐσῆμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδοιεν.

80. Ως δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξηλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ιῆθεα τὰ ἔωντοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρός, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. οὐ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἔωντῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην διῆν ἐποιεέτο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐγένετο, ήντιασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἐπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὁκταμασάδην λέγων τοιάδε. "Τί δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἰς μέν μεν τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μεν ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ μῆτε

smitten by a thunderbolt and wholly destroyed by fire. But none the less for this did Scyles perform the rite to the end. Now the Scythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians : " Why," said he, " you Scythians mock us for revelling and being possessed by the god ; but now this deity has taken possession of your own king, so that he is revelling and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." The chief men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly and set them on a tower; whence presently, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him among the revellers ; whereat being greatly moved, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place ; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace ; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way ; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades : " Wherefore should we essay each other's strength ? You are my sister's son, and you have with you my brother ; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you ; and let

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σὺ κινδυνεύσῃς μήτ' ἔγω." ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας  
οἱ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἵνα γὰρ παρὰ τῷ  
Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὺς Σιτάλκεω πεφευγώς. ὁ  
δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ  
τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μῆτραν Σιτάλκη ἐλαβε τὸν ἀδελ-  
φεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν  
ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης  
αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν. οὕτω μὲν  
περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι  
δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα  
ἐπιτίμα διδοῦσι.

81. Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶός τε ἔγενομην  
ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ  
τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἡκουον καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὶ εἰναι  
σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσόνδε  
μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς δψιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυ-  
σθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Τπάνιος χῶρος, οὗνομα  
δέ οἱ ἔστι Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον  
τούτων μνήμην εἰχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην  
ὑδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἣς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν  
Τπανιν ἀποτον ποιέειν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ  
κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἔξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Παυσανίης ὁ  
Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἴδε κω τοῦτον,  
ῶδε δηλώσω· ἔξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως  
χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ  
Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἔστι δακτύλων ἔξ. τοῦτο  
ῶν ἐλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι.  
βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὔνομα  
εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἴδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ  
Σκυθέων κελεύειν μν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἔκα-

neither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and received his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. So closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, so far as they are true Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself:—There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus.<sup>1</sup> To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrow-heads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.

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στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ διστοῦ<sup>1</sup> κομίσαις ὃς δ' ἄν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλον ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων μημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τουτέων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκῆιον ποιήσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Εξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἔκουον.

82. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἡ δτι ποταμούς τε πολλῷ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρίσεται ἵχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουστι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βῆματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μέν νυν τοιοῦτο ἔστι, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἄρχας ἦμα λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον, Ἀρτάβαρος ὁ Τστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἔων Δαρείου, ἔχρημζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιεεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ ἐπειθε συμβουλεύων οἱ χρηστά, ὁ μὲν ἐπέπαιτο, ὁ δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἄπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξῆλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἔόντων οἱ παῖδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὁ δέ

<sup>1</sup> [ἀπὸ τοῦ διστοῦ] Stein.

from an arrow, threatening all who should not so do with death. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exam-paeus. Thus much I heard concerning the number of the Scythians.

82. As for marvels, there are none in the land, save that it has rivers by far the greatest and the most numerous in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most wondrous thing for me to tell of: they show a footprint of Heracles by the river Tyras stamped on rock, like the mark of a man's foot, but two cubits in length. Having so described this I will now return to the story which I began to relate.<sup>1</sup>

83. While Darius was making preparations<sup>2</sup> against the Scythians, and sending messengers to charge some to furnish an army and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, desired of him by no means to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal withal. But when he could not move the king for all his good counsel, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations being now made, led his army from Susa.

84. Then Oeobazus a Persian, who had three sons, all with the army, entreated Darius that one might be left behind. "Nay," said the king, "you

<sup>1</sup> In ch. I.

<sup>2</sup> The date of Darius' expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.

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ἔφη ὡς φίλῳ ἔόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παιδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρής ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς νιέας στρατηγὸς ἀπολελύσθαι· ὃ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παιδας.

85. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σουσῶν ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἐπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἐλληνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἔξομενος δὲ ἐπὶ ρίψιν ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἔόντα ἀξιοθέτον. πελαγέων γάρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὔρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐώντοι, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχιλιοι. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὔρος τέσσερες στάδιοι μῆκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχῆν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κεκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστι. τείνει δὲ τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· ἡ δὲ Προποντὶς ἔοῦσα εὔρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἔόντα στεινοτητα μὲν ἐπτὰ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἴγαιον καλέεται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὡδε. νηῦς ἐπίπαν

<sup>1</sup> Rocks (the "Wandering" or "Clashing" Rocks of Greek legend) off the northern end of the Bosphorus.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus is wrong. The Black Sea is 720 miles long

are my friend, and your desire is but reasonable ; I will leave all your sons." Oeobazus rejoiced greatly, supposing that his sons were released from service ; but Darius bade those whose business it was to put all Oeobazus' sons to death.

85. So their throats were cut, and they were all left there ; but Darius, when in his march from Susa he came to that place in the territory of Calchedon where the Bosporus was bridged, took ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks<sup>1</sup> (as they are called) which the Greeks say did formerly move upon the waters ; there he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. For it is of all seas the most wonderful. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs, and its breadth, at the place where it is widest, three thousand three hundred.<sup>2</sup> The channel at the entrance of this sea is four furlongs broad ; and in length, the narrow neck of the channel called Bosporus, across which the bridge was thrown, is as much as an hundred and twenty furlongs. The Bosporus reaches as far as to the Propontis ; and the Propontis is five hundred furlongs wide and fourteen hundred long ; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven furlongs, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont issues into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegaeon.

86. These measurements have been made after

(about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus' measurement, about 270 miles broad ; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much ; the Bosporus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.

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μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὄργυιας ἐπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. ηδὴ ὅν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὁκτώ· αὗται ἔνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσί. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εύρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὗται δὲ τρεῖς μαριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὄργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μέν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτῳ τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐλάσσω ἐωυτοῦ, η Μαιῆτίς τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87. Ο δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἐπλεεὶ δπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἐστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμμata ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα δσα περ ἥγε· ἥγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἑξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἴππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσιαι συνελέχθησαν. τῆσι μέν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν

this manner: a ship will for the most part accomplish seventy thousand fathoms in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, the length of it will be eleven hundred and ten thousand fathoms, which make eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the river Thermodon (for here is the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights, that is of three hundred and thirty thousand fathoms, or three thousand three hundred furlongs. Thus have I measured this Pontus and the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and they are such as I have said. Moreover, there is seen a lake issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeotian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

87. Having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles of Samos was the chief builder; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up by it two pillars of white marble, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army; in which were all the nations subject to him. The full tale of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, reckoning therewith horsemen, and the number of ships that mustered was six hundred. These pillars were afterwards carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.

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βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου οὔτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου οἱ χῶρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἔστι Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἥρου.

88. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤσθεις τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σαμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ᾧ δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ζῆρα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίᾳ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ "Ηραιον, ἐπιγράφας τάδε.

Βόσπορον ἵχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε  
Μανδροκλέης "Ηρη μημόσυνον σχεδίης,  
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος.  
Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μημόσυνα ἐγένετο· Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι "Ιωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι "Ιστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν "Ιστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγμύνντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γάρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἥγον "Ιωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ "Ελλησπόντιοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἐπλεει ἵθι τοῦ "Ιστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυῶν ἡμερέων πλόσον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ

Artemis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosporus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

88. After this, Darius, being well content with his bridge of boats, made to Mandrocles the Samian a gift of ten of every kind;<sup>1</sup> wherefrom Mandrocles took the firstfruits and therewith had a picture made showing the whole bridge of the Bosporus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; this he set up in the temple of Here, with this inscription :

“ This Picture Mandrocles to Here gives,  
Whereby for ever his Achievement lives ;  
A Bridge of Boats o'er *Bosp'rus'* fishful Flood  
He built ; Darius saw, and judg'd it good ;  
Thus for himself won Mandrocles a Crown,  
And for his isle of *Samos* high Renown.”

89. This then was done to preserve the name of the builder of the bridge. Darius, having rewarded Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe ; he had bidden the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the river Ister, and when they should come thither to wait for him there, bridging the river meanwhile ; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and made sail straight for the Ister, and, having gone a two days' voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance ; cf. a similar phrase in ix. 81.

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σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἱστρου, ἔξεύγνυε.  
Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν  
σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος  
δὲ ἐπὶ Τεάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπέδεύ-  
σατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

90. Οὐδὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων  
εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν  
φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην  
ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι  
τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ρέουσαι, καὶ  
αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. ὅδὸς δ'  
ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι Ἰση ἔξ Ήραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ  
Περίνθῳ καὶ ἔξ Απολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὔξείνῳ  
πάντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἐκατέρη. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ  
Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ  
Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς  
τὸν Ἔβρον, ὃ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴγα-  
πόλει.

91. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὧν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ  
Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπέδεύσατο, ἥσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ  
στήλῃν ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμμata ἐγγράψας  
λέγοντα τάδε. "Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ  
ἄριστον τε καὶ καλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων  
ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ καλλιστος  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Τστάσπεος, Περ-  
σέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς." ταῦτα  
δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

92. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὄρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ'  
ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα Ἀρτησκός ἐστι, διὰ  
Οδρυσέων ρέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπι-  
κόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ

of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosporus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

90. The Tearus is said in the country round to be the best of all rivers for all purposes of healing, but especially for the healing of the scab in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. There are two roads to the place, one from the town of Heraeum near to Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days' journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the river Contadesdus, and that of the Agriane, and that again of the Hebrus, which issues into the sea near the city of Aenus.

91. Having then come to this river and there encamped, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, graven with this inscription, "From the sources of the river Tearus flows the best and fairest of all river waters; hither came, leading his army against the Scythians, the best and fairest of all men, even Darius son of Hystaspes and king of Persia and all the mainland." Such was the inscription.

92. Thence Darius set forth and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; whither having come, he marked a place for the army to see, and bade every

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στρατιὴ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἔνα παρεξ-  
ιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον,  
ώς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεστε, ἐνθαῦτα κολω-  
νοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπῆλαυνε  
τὴν στρατιήν.

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώ-  
τους αἱρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν  
γὰρ τὸν Σαλμοδησὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ  
Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκη-  
μένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νιψαῖοι,  
ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρεῖῳ· οἱ δὲ  
Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα  
ἔδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἔοντες ἄνδρηιότατοι καὶ  
δικαιότατοι.

94. Ἀθανατίζοντι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε  
ἀποθήσκειν ἔωντοὺς νομίζοντι ἔναι τε τὸν ἀπολ-  
λύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν  
αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄνομάζοντι Γεβελέιξιν διὰ πεντε-  
τηρίδος τε τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἱεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν  
ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελ-  
λόμενοι τῶν ἀν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ  
ὁδεῖ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι,  
ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπέμπομένου παρὰ  
τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινή-  
σαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας.  
ιν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ Ἰλεος ὁ  
θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι· ήν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, αἰτιῶνται  
αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι,  
αἰτιησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι ἐν-  
τέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες  
καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες

man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first subdued the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaei, surrendered themselves unresisting to Darius; but the Getae, who are the bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians, resisted with obstinacy, and were enslaved forthwith.

94. As to their claim to be immortal, this is how they show it: they believe that they do not die, but that he who perishes goes to the god Salmoxis, or Gebeleizis, as some of them call him. Once in every five years they choose by lot one of their people and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis, charged to tell of their needs; and this is their manner of sending: Three lances are held by men thereto appointed; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and hurl him aloft on to the spear-points. If he be killed by the cast, they believe that the god regards them with favour; but if he be not killed, they blame the messenger himself, deeming him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him whom they blame. It is while the man yet lives that they charge him with the message. Moreover when there is thunder and lightning these same

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άνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα  
ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

95. Ως δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσ-  
ποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντου, τὸν  
Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἔοντα ἀνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν  
Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μηνσάρχου,  
ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρῆματα  
κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς  
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ἄτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἔοντων τῶν  
Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Σάλμοξιν  
τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον διαιτάν τε Ἱάδα καὶ ἡθεα  
βαθύτερα ἡ κατὰ Θρηίκας, οἷα "Ἑλλησί τε ὁμιλή-  
σαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ  
Πυθαγόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν  
πανδοκευοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐω-  
χέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ  
συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἱεὶ γινόμενοι  
ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα  
αἱεὶ περιεόντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν φῷ δὲ  
ἔποιες τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν  
τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἰκημα ἔποιέετο. ὡς δέ οἱ  
παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἰκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων  
ἡφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον  
οἰκημα διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία· οὐδὲ μιν ἐπό-  
θεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὡς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ  
ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήιξι, καὶ οὗτῳ πιθανά σφι  
ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασί μιν  
ποιῆσαι.

96. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ κατα-  
γαιού οἰκήματος οὕτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὡν πιστεύω  
τι λίην, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν  
Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε δὲ

Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

95. For myself, I have been told by the Greeks who dwell beside the Hellespont and Pontus that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; presently, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a meanly-living and simple-witted folk, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian usages and a fuller way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; wherefore he made himself a hall, where he entertained and feasted the chief among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was all the while making him an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and descended into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, the Thracians wishing him back and mourning him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called

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έγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι ούτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω.

97. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς ἔχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἶποντο τῷ ἀλλῳ στρατῷ. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τούς τε Ἰωνας τὴν σχεδίην λύσαντας ἐπεσθαι κατ' ἥπειρον ἔωντο καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κώης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἔλεξε Δαρείῳ τάδε, πιθόμενος πρότερον εἴ οἱ φίλοιν εἴη γνωμῆν ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. “Ο βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένου φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύτην ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπῶν τούτους οἵπερ μν ἔξενξαν. καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξαμεν εύρύντες Σκύθας, ἐστι ἀπόδος ἡμῖν, ἦν τε καὶ μή σφεας εὑρεῖν δυνάμεθα, η γε ἀπόδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἐστωθέωμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας εὑρεῖν πάθωμέν τι ἀλώμενοι. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἄν με ἐμεωντοῦ εἴνεκεν, ὡς καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔφομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἄν λειφθείην.” κάρτα τε ἡσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρεῖος καὶ μν ἀμείψατο τοῦσιδε. “Ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὅπίσω ἐς οἰκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθε μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίης χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι.”

98. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἄμματα ἔξη-

Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him.

97. Such were the ways of the Getae, who were now subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he bade the Ionians break the bridge and follow him in his march across the mainland, together with the men of the fleet. So the Ionians were preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' behest; but Cœs son of Erxander, the general of the Mytilenaeans, having first enquired if Darius were willing to receive counsel from any man desiring to give it, said, "Seeing, O king! that you are about to march against a country where you will find neither tilled lands nor inhabited cities, do you now suffer this bridge to stand where it is, leaving those who made it to be its guards. Thus, if we find the Scythians and accomplish our will, we have a way of return; and even if we find them not, yet at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never yet been lest we be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather lest we should not be able to find them, and so wander astray to our hurt. Now perchance it may be said that I speak thus for my own sake, because I desire to remain behind; but it is not so; I do but declare before all that counsel which I judge best for you, and as for myself I would not be left here but will follow you." With this counsel Darius was greatly pleased, and he answered Cœs thus: "My good Lesbian, fail not to show yourself to me when I return safe to my house, that so I may make you a good return for your good advice."

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a

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κοντα ἐν ίμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων  
 τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. “Αὐδρες Ἰωνες, ἡ μὲν  
 πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν  
 μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ίμάντα τὸνδε ποιέετε  
 τάδε· ἐπεὰν ἐμὲ ἵδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε  
 ἄμμα ἐν ἑκάστης ἡμέρῃ· ἢν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ύμιν αἱ ἡμέραι  
 τῶν ἄμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν.  
 μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσ-  
 σετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίης τε  
 καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες  
 ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε.” Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα  
 εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω πέπεύγετο.

99. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θά-  
 λασσαν πρόκειται κολπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς  
 ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἱστρος  
 ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα  
 τετραμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἱστρου ἔρχομαι σημα-  
 νέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς  
 χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἱστρου αὗτη ἥδη ἡ  
 ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἔστι, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ  
 νότου ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος  
 καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θά-  
 λασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινήν τε  
 χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ  
 Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρηχέης  
 καλεομένης· αὕτη δέ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπη-  
 λιώτην ἄνεμον κατίκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς  
 τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὔρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα,  
 τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἥω,  
 κατά περ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης· καὶ παραπλήσια

thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "Ionians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Scythians, and loose one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and where a bay is formed in its coast, Scythia begins, and the mouth of the Ister, which faces to the south-east, is in that country. Now I will describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. At the Ister begins the ancient Scythian land, which lies facing the south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea.<sup>1</sup> For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and

<sup>1</sup> Here = the Sea of Azov.

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ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην<sup>1</sup> ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀνιψιφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν· τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρικὴ ἔστι. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρευτεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

100. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἥδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοίης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος μέχρι Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἥδη ὧν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἐπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

101. Ἐστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἔούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θαλασσαν, πάντῃ ἵσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θαλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυ-

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἄκρην is bracketed by Stein, ἀνέχειν being generally (in the required sense) intransitive.

the Tauri dwelling as they do in a part of Scythia which is like Attica, it is as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the township of Anaphyllystus, did Sunium but jut farther out into the sea. I say this in so far as one may compare small things with great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not coasted along that part of Attica may understand from this other way of showing: it is as though in Iapygia some other people, not Iapygian, were to dwell on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brentesium to Taras. Of these two countries I speak, but there are many others of a like kind which Tauris resembles.<sup>1</sup>

100. Beyond the Tauric country the Scythians begin, dwelling north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, westward of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the river Tanais, which issues into the end of that lake. Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, which runs from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks.

101. Scythia, then, being a four-sided country, whereof two sides are sea-board, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea make it a perfect square; for it is a ten days' journey from the

<sup>1</sup> All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the south-eastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the "heel" of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.

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σθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός, ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῆτιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδὸς. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. οὕτω ἀν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικύρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὅρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἑτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν νῦν γῆ αὗτη ἔστι μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἷοι τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπειταν ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχάρους ἄγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἷσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103. Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῦσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τούς τε ναυγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι ροπάλῳ παίουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὥθεουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἴδρυται τὸ ἱρόν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὥθεεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαιμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἀνδρας τοὺς ἀν χειρωσῶνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμών ἔκα-

Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

102. The Scythians, reckoning that they were not able by themselves to repel Darius' army in open warfare, sent messengers to their neighbours, whose kings had already met and were taking counsel, as knowing that a great army was marching against them. Those that had so met were the kings of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Man-eaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauro-matae.

103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess<sup>1</sup> as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff whereon their temple stands, and place the head on a pole; others agree with this as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff. This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri themselves to be Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. As for the enemies whom they overcome, each man cuts off

<sup>1</sup> A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.

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στος<sup>1</sup> κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ίστα ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσαν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τοιτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσῃς ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληίης τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσὶ καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μᾶξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκήιοι ἔοντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἄλληλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμαια Θρῆις προσκεχωρήκασι.

105. Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μιῇ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὄφιων ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἀνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἔωστῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γάρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ώς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὐτὶς ὅπίσω ἐς τώντὸν κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἡσσον, καὶ ὅμινσι δὲ λέγοντες.

106. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ήθεα, οὕτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὕτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσί, ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἴδιην, ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

<sup>1</sup> [Ἐκαστος] Stein.

his enemy's head and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and sets it standing high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set aloft to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war.

104. The Agathyrsi live more delicately than all other men, and are greatly given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiscuous, that they may be brothers and that as they are all kinsfolk to each other they may neither envy nor hate their fellows. In the rest of their customs they are like to the Thracians.

105. The Neuri follow Scythian usages; but one generation before the coming of Darius' army it fell out that they were driven from their country by snakes; for their land brought forth great numbers of these, and yet more came down upon them out of the desert on the north, till at last the Neuri were so hard pressed that they left their own country and dwelt among the Budini. It may be that they are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days returns again to his former shape. For myself, I cannot believe this tale; but they tell it nevertheless, yea, and swear to its truth.

106. The Man-eaters are of all men the most savage in their manner of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; they are the only people of all these that eat men.

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107. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εῖματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὃν καὶ τὰς ἐπωυυμίας ἔχουσι, νόμπισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

108. Βουδῖνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἦσαν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἵσχυρῶς ἔστι καὶ πυρρόν. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπολισται ξυλίνη, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ἔστι Γελωνός· τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἔκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἔστι, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἵρα. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἵρα Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ ηηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἄρχαιον Ἑλλῆνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἔξαραστάντες οἰκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι· καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἡ αὐτή.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἔοντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτης, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγαι καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἴδεην ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὁρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρη σφέων πᾶσα ἔστι δασέα ἴδησι παντοὶγετε· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἴδῃ τῇ πλείστῃ ἔστι λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλὴ καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ δρχιες αὐτοῖσι εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἀκεσιν.

110. Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὡδε λέγεται. ὅτε

107. The Black-cloaks all wear black raiment, whence they take their name; their usages are Scythian.

108. The Budini are a great and numerous nation; the eyes of all of them are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines of wood; and they honour Dionysus every two years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109. The Budini are native to the soil; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are tillers of the soil, eating grain and possessing gardens; they are wholly unlike the Budini in form and in complexion. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. All their country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forests there is a great and wide lake and marsh surrounded by reeds; otters are caught in it, and beavers, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins serve for the trimming of mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal sicknesses of the womb.

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will

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Ἐλληνες Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοις οἰόργαρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἐλληνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχῃ ἀποπλέειν ἀγοντας τρισὶ πλοιοῖσι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἐδυνέατο ζωγρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ίστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίγ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔξικοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἴππαξόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

III. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὄκοθεν ἐλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δὲ αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἐγιωσαν ἑούσας γυναικας. Βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἐδοξεῖ κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τριπτῷ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἐωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιέειν τά περ ἀν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι· ἦν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μή, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας

now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is *oior*, and to kill is *pata*) the story runs that after their victory on the Thermo-don they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and slew them. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men having been slain they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country, and seized the first troop of horses they met, and mounted on them they raided the Scythian lands. -

III. The Scythians could not understand the matter; for they knew not the women's speech nor their dress nor their nation, but wondered whence they had come, and supposed them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The end of the fight was that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to know that their foes were women. Wherefore taking counsel they resolved by no means to slay them as heretofore, but to send to them their youngest men, of a number answering (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They bade these youths encamp near to the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, then not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit ceased, to

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αὐτις πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι ἔξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι ἐποίευν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

112. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμῆ δηλήσι ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαυτέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ. εἰχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ζοῇν ἔζωσν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνηστι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληξόμενοι.

113. Ἐποίευν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρέιην ἀποσκιδάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν τῶτὸ τοῦτο. καὶ τις μονωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γάρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραξε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τῶτὸ χωρίον καὶ ἔτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἔτερην ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἥλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος καὶ ἔτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὑρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθουντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμίξαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἰκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναικα ἔχων ἐκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ

come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

112. When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder.

113. At midday the Amazons would scatter and go singly or in pairs away from each other, roaming thus apart for greater comfort. The Scythians marked this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman made no resistance but suffered him to do his will; and since they understood not each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with the hand that he should come on the next day to the same place bringing another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting him. When the rest of the young men learnt of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the

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τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναικες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἐλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. "Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες· νῦν ὁν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνου ξόην τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναικας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμᾶς ἄλλας." αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐλεξαν τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῆν ὑμετέρων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαια ἡμῖν τε κακείνησι ἔστι. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομέν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἕργα δὲ γυναικήμα οὐκ ἔμάθομεν αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναικες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῦστι, ἕργα δὲ γυναικήμα ἔργαζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξησι, οὕτ' ἐπὶ θήρην λοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλῃ οὐδαμῇ. οὐκ ἀν ὁν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναικας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἀπελθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπελθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν." ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.

115. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἥλθον ὅπισω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἐλεξαν αἱ γυναικες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. "Ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅκως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δηληταμένας πολλά. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναικας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε ἂμα ἡμῖν· φέρετε ἔξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε καὶ περήσαυτες Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν."

116. Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, δια-

women mastered the speech of the men ; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, " We have parents and possessions ; now therefore let us no longer live as we do, but return to our people and consort with them ; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied : " Nay, we could not dwell with your women ; for we and they have not the same customs. We shoot with the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but the crafts of women we have never learned ; and your women do none of the things whereof we speak, but abide in their waggons working at women's crafts, and never go abroad a-hunting or for aught else. We and they therefore could never agree. Nay, if you desire to keep us for wives and to have the name of just men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and dwell by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this.

115. So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions which fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them : " We are in fear and dread, to think how we should dwell in this country ; seeing that not only have we bereaved you of your parents, but we have done much hurt to your land. Nay, since you think right to have us for wives, let us all together, we and you, remove out of this country and dwell across the river Tanais."

116. To this too the youths consented ; and crossing

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βάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναιν ὁδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον  
ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάϊδος  
ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος  
πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τούτον τὸν  
χῶρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοίκηνται, οἰκησαν τούτον.  
καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν  
Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναικες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπί<sup>·</sup>  
ἴππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἄμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς  
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν  
τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι.

117. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ,  
σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ  
χρηστῶς ἔξεμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ  
γάμων δὲ ὡδέ σφι διακέεται οὐ γαμέεται παρ-  
θένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἀν τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρα ἀπο-  
κτείνῃ αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ  
πρὶν γῆμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι.

118. Ἐπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἔθνεων  
τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων  
οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ώς ὁ Πέρσης,  
ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἑτέρῃ πάντα κατέ-  
στραπταί, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ  
Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβὰς  
δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῦ ποταμὸν  
“Ιστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ’ ἔωστῷ  
ποιήσασθαι. “Τμεῖς ὧν μηδεὶς τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ  
μέσου κατήμενοι περιῆδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας,  
ἄλλα τώτῳ νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα.  
οὔκων ποιήσετε ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἡ  
ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώρην ἡ μένοντες ὄμολογή χρησό-  
μεθα. τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων  
τιμωρέειν; ὑπὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλα-

the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards, and a three days' journey from the Maeotian lake northwards ; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage ; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them ; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

117. The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, seeing that the Amazons never rightly learnt it. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no virgin weds till she has slain a man of the enemy ; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law.

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosporus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no

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φρότερον· ἦκει γάρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἔρεομεν. εἰ γάρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ιέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀν ἐδῆλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τὴνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἱεὶ ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τούς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἔωστῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν ἔσυτας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας.”

119. Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλέες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἥκοντες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι· ὁ μὲν γάρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδῆνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τῶντὸ γενόμενοι ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο. “Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἀν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὅρθα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τῶντὸ ἀν ὑμῶν ἐπρήστομεν. νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἀνευ ἡμέων ἐπεκρατεῖτε Περσέων δσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπει σφεας ὠντὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὄμοιην ὑμῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἡδικήσαμεν τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικέειν. ἡρ μέντοι ἐπίη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἄρξη τε ἀδικέων,

light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has subdued us will he be content to leave you alone. We can give you full proof of what we say: were it we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country, it is certain that he would leave others alone and make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now, from the day of his crossing over to this continent, he has been ever taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae."

119. Such being the message of the Scythians, the kings who had come from their nations took counsel, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatæ made common cause and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Man-eaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri made this answer to the messengers: "Had it not been you who did unprovoked wrong to the Persians and so began the war, this request that you proffer would seem to us right, and we would consent and act jointly with you. But now, you and not we invaded their land and held it for such time as the god permitted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are but requiting you in like manner. But we did these men no wrong in that former time, nor will we essay to harm them now unprovoked; nathless if the Persian come against our land too and do the first act of

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καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα,<sup>1</sup> μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν,  
μενιόμεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἥκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν  
οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς  
ἀδικίης γενομένους."

120. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ  
Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ιθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν  
ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δή σφι οὗτοί γε  
σύμμαχοι οὐ προστεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ  
ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίοιεν αὐτοὶ<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν  
τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκάπασις,  
προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπά-  
γειν, ἵν επὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, οὐ  
Τανάδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑπο-  
φεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας  
διώκειν. αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βα-  
σιληίης, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὄδὸν ἥ περ εἴρηται  
τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληίων, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς  
ἡρχες Ἰδάνθυρσος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε  
Ταξακις, συνελθούσας ἐς τώπυτὸ καὶ Γελωτῶν τε  
καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους  
ὄδῳ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας  
τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρῶτα μὲν  
νῦν ὑπάγειν σφέας οὐτὸ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπα-  
μένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους  
ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν  
τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας  
ἐκπολεμώσειν μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέψειν ἐς τὴν  
σφετέρην καὶ ἐπεχειρέειν, ἵν δὴ βουλευομένοισι  
δοκέη.

<sup>1</sup> πεισόμεθα MSS.; Stein καιομέθα, "lie inactive"; πεισθό-  
μεθα Bekker.

wrong, then we two will not consent to it; but till we see that, we will abide where we are by ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians are attacking not us but those at whose door the offence lies."

120. This answer being brought back and made known to the Scythians, they resolved not to meet their enemy in the open field, seeing that they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to withdraw and drive off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and destroying the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their will that to one of their divisions, over which Scopasis was king, the Sauromatae should be added; this host should, if the Persian marched that way, retire before him and draw off towards the river Tanais, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to depart then they should attack and pursue him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow the way aforesaid; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whereof the ruler was Idanthyrsus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking to them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, ever keeping one day's march in front of the enemy, avoiding a meeting and doing what had been resolved. First, then, they must retreat in a straight course towards the countries which refused their alliance, so that these too might be compelled to fight; for if they would not of their own accord enter the lists against the Persians, they must be driven to war willy-nilly; and after that, the host must turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in debate this should seem good.

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121. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηρτίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστέλλαντες τῶν ἵππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσι σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἰκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἄμα τῇσι ἀμάξησι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐλαύνειν.

122. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο· τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὔρων τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσουν τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱστρου, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεινούντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἰδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπῆσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γάρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων Ιθυσταν) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ ἴθὺ Τανάϊδος· διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὰν Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς δὲ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123. "Οσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἤισαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οἱ δὲ εἰχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἀτε τῆς χωρῆς ἐσύσης χέρσους ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχει, ἐκλελοιπότων τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκερωμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἴποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς δὲ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης ἐοῦσα πλῆθος

121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.

122. This convoy being first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they encamped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about clearing the land of all growing things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appearing, they marched on in its tracks, the horsemen ever withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit towards the east and the river Tanais; which when the horsemen had crossed the Persians crossed also, and pursued till they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini.

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its

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έπτα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσ-  
σαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἔξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες  
μεγάλοι ρέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν  
λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα  
κέεται τάδε, Λύκος· Οαρος· Τάραις· Σύργις.

124. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ· Οάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ παιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἵσον ἀπ' ἄλληλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἔξηκοντα μάλιστά κῃ τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σօα ἦν. ἐν δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχει μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμέρης μετῆκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦιε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125. Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρησι τῆσι μοίρησι τῶν Σκυθέων, ἐντυχὼν δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. καὶ οὐ γάρ ἀνίει ἐπὶών ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἥισαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὄρεοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυ-

breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

124. When Darius came into the desert, he halted in his race and encamped on the river Oarus, where he built eight great forts, all at an equal distance of about sixty furlongs from each other, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime. While he was busied with these, the Scythians whom he pursued fetched a compass northwards and turned back into Scythia. When they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius then left those forts but half finished, and he too turned about and marched westward, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing towards the west.

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met the two divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,

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θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἡ σφὶ ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευοι Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὔρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προεπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὔρους, ἔρυκεν ἐν τῷ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας· Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἄμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοί τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἱεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπεπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

126. Ως δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἵππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. "Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φείγεις αἰεὶ, ἔξεόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἔτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις εἶναι σεωτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἴ δὲ συγγινώσκεαι εἶναι ἥσσων, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὗτῳ παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῇ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους."

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. "Οὗτοι τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὁ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι γεωτερον εἴμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἔστι, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλῷ ἡ

before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

126. All this continuing long, and there being no end to it, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthyrsus the Scythian king, with this message : "Sir, these are strange doings. Why will you ever flee? You can choose which of two things you will do : if you deem yourself strong enough to withstand my power, wander no further, but stand and fight; but if you know yourself to be the weaker, then make an end of this running to and fro, and come to terms with your master, sending him gifts of earth and water."

127. To this Idanthyrsus the Scythian king made answer : "It is thus with me, Persian : I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you ; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner

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καρῆ ταχύτερον ἀν ὑμῖν συμμίσγοιμεν ἐς μάχην.  
 εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέ-  
 εσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ήμεν ἔόντες τάφοι πατρώοι  
 φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειρᾶσθε  
 αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῶν μαχησόμεθα  
 περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρό-  
 τερον δέ, ἦν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἴρει, οὐ συμμίξομέν  
 τοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότας  
 δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον  
 καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μούνους είναι.  
 σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὄντος δῶρα  
 πέμψω τοιαῦτα οὐα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ  
 τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας είναι ἐμός, κλαίειν  
 λέγω.” τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις.<sup>1</sup>

128. Ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα  
 Δαρείῳ, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς  
 δουλοσύνης τὸ οὖν μα δργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τῆς  
 μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς  
 ἡρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι “Ιωσὶ κελεύοντες ἐς  
 λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοισι οὖ τὸν “Ιστρον ἐξευ-  
 γμένον ἐφρούρεον” αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομέ-  
 νοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σίτα δὲ  
 ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. υωμῶντες  
 ὁν σίτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίευν τὰ  
 βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων  
 ἵππόται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζὸν, ὁ δὲ  
 πεζὸς ἀν ἐπεκούρεε οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες  
 τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεομένοι.  
 ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσ-  
 βολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is bracketed by Stein, but there seems to be no conclusive reason for rejecting it.

in battle, fearing lest the one be taken or the other be wasted. But if nothing will serve you but fighting straightway, we have the graves of our fathers; come, find these and essay to destroy them; then shall you know whether we will fight you for those graves or no. Till then we will not join battle unless we think good. Thus much I say of fighting; for my masters, I hold them to be Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians, and none other. Gifts I will send you, not earth and water, but such as you should rightly receive; and for your boast that you are my master, take my malison for it." Such is the proverbial "Scythian speech."

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of the Scythians to which the Sauromatae were attached, and which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Scythian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.

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129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησί τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξουν ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἔρεω, τῶν τε ὄνων ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμίόνων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῆ ἡ Σκυθικὴ φέρει, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ὑθρίζοντες ὧν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὅρθὰ ιστάντες τὰ ὥτα, ἀτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἴδόντες τὸ εἶδος.

130. Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τι ἐφέρουτο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένοιέν τε ἐπὶ πλείῳ χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιᾶτο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες, ἐποίεον τοιάδε· ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἀν ὑπεξήλαυνον ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον· οἱ δὲ ἀν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπηέροντο ἀν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γιγομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖος τε ἐν ἀπορίηστι εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλέες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα δρυιθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ ὄιστους πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειράτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων· ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας

129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the whole of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they brayed loudly, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

130. The Persians gained thus very little in the war, for when the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan whereby they might remain longer in Scythia and so remaining might be distressed by lack of all things needful: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, themselves moving away to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be uplifted by this achievement.

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary, and when they perceived this, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let

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ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί είσι, γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν.

132. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γυνώμη ἦν Σκύθας ἔωντῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τῇδε, ώς μᾶς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδati, ὅρνις δὲ μαίλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ, τοὺς δὲ διστοὺς ώς τὴν ἔωντῶν ἀλκὴν παραδίδοντι. αὗτη μὲν Δαρεῖος ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γυνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γυνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρυεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν ““Ἡν μὴ ὅρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς Πέρσαι, ἡ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἡ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὅπιστοι ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.””

133. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἴκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν “Ιστρον” Ιωσί ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ώς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἐλεγε τάδε. ““Ανδρες Ιωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἥκομεν ὑμῖν φέροιτε, ἢν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γάρ Δαρείον ἐντελλασθαι ὑμῖν ἔξικοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιεῦντες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνους αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.”” οὗτοι μέν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ιώνων ποιήσειν ταῦτα ὅπιστοι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough, discover the signification of the presents.

132. The Persians hearing and taking counsel, Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering to him themselves and their earth and their water; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water and a bird most like to a horse; and the arrows (said he) signified that the Scythians surrendered their fighting power. This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magian, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, "Unless you become birds Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide you in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home."

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeotian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, "Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart." So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.

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134. Πέρσησι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖῳ ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῷ καὶ ἵπποισι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐσ τὸ μέσον διήτξε· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ὕρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῆ χρεωμένων, εἴρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἰπε ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν “Οὐτοι ὧνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρούεουσι, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοθρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὅρθως. ὡς ὁν οὕτω ἡδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὄπισθ.” πρὸς ταῦτα Γοθρύης εἶπε “Ο βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἡπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὅρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίξοντας ἡμῖν. νῦν ὁν μοι δοκέει, ἐπεὰν τάχιστα νῦξ ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιέειν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐσ τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ιθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἡ καὶ τι Ἰωσὶ δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἰόν τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι.”

135. Γοθρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νῦξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἔχρατο τῇ γυνώμῃ ταύτῃ τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι

134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason alone wellnigh showed me how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; but when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont at other times, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darfas followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were worn out, and those whose loss importuned least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they

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βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεῖς μὲν εἰνεκεν κατέλειποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδή, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθῆσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔυσίατο. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειμμένοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ δνοὶ ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὄμιλου οὔτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἤσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἥλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

136. Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γυόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδεδομένοι εἰεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἔξιωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἴθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου. ἄτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἔόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὥστε οὐ τετμημένεων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἵπποτεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκω ἀπιγμένους ἐλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἰωνας ἔόντας ἐν τῇσι νησσί "Αὐδρες Ἰωνεῖς, αἱ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχησται καὶ οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἅπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθῃσι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἔόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα

might bray; as to the men, they were left by reason of their infirmity, but his pretext was, forsooth, that they should guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the sound part of his army. Giving this charge to those who were left behind, and lighting camp-fires, Darius made all speed to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed much the louder for that; and the Scythians by hearing them were fully persuaded that the Persians were still in the same place.

136. But when day dawned the men left behind perceived that Darius had played them false, and they held out their hands to the Scythians and explained their position; who, when they heard, gathered their power with all speed, both the two divisions of their host and the one division that was with the Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. But seeing that the Persian army was for the most part of footmen and knew not the roads (these not being marked), whereas the Scythians were horsemen and knew the short cuts, they kept wide of each other, and the Scythians came to the bridge much before the Persians. There, perceiving that the Persians were not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who were in their ships, "Now, Ionians, the numbered days are past and you do wrongly to remain still here. Nay—for it is fear which has ere now kept you from departing—now break the bridge with all speed and go your ways in freedom and happiness, thanking the gods and the Scythians. As for him that was once your master, we will leave him in such

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οὗτω ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμοὺς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι."

137. Πρὸς ταῦτα "Ιωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονῆσιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἦν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἔκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταιρεθείσης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἶος τε ἐσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσεσθαι γάρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολίων δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἤσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταῦτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρέομενοι.

138. "Ησαν δὲ οὓτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἔοντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος, Ἐλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἰπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὓτοι μὲν ἤσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἐλλησπάντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράττις τε Χίος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαιεὺς καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαῖος..

139. Οὓτοι ὅν ἐπείτε τὴν Ἰστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξέ σφι πρὸς ταύτην τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἐπεια προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἔοντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἔξικνέ-

plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

137. Thereupon the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and despot of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, gave counsel that they should do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. But Histiaeus of Miletus held a contrary opinion. "Now," said he, "it is by help of Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power be overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, neither I in Miletus nor any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." When Histiaeus declared this opinion, all of them straightway inclined to it, albeit they had first sided with Miltiades.

138. Those standing high in Darius' favour who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippocles of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, all from the Hellespont and despots of cities there; and from Ionia, Stratidas of Chios, Alaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae.

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus' counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might

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εται, ινα και ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν και οι Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώσατο βιώμενοι και βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ως πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ήδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γράμμῃ μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαῖος τάδε λέγων.

“Ανδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἥκετε φέροντες και ἐς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε και τά τε ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται και τὰ ἀπ’ ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ως γὰρ ὄρατε, και λύομεν τὸν πόρον και προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν φ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίξησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἡμέων και ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ως κεινους πρέπει.”

140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσὶ πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, και ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτην διαφθείραντες και τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε αὐτὸι σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μέν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τῷ χιλός τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι και ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτη διεξιάντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες και ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέεσθαι οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤσαν, και οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον. οἷα δὲ μυκτός τε

seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, " You have brought us good advice, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

140. So the Scythians trusted the Ionians' word once more, and turned back to seek the Persians; but they mistook the whole way whereby their enemies returned. For this the Scythians themselves were to blame, inasmuch as they had destroyed the horses' grazing-grounds in that region and choked the wells. Had they not so done, they could readily have found the Persians if they would. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their ill-success. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was provender for horses and water, supposing that they too were aiming at such places in their flight; but the Persians ever kept to their own former tracks, and so with much ado they found the passage of the river. But inasmuch as they

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ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκοντο μή σφεας οἱ Ἰωνεῖς ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

141. Ἡν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστου ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάτα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔζευξε.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι. Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἔοντας Ἰωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς δούλων ἔοντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἀδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνας ἀπέρριπται.

143. Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῆσι ηγετὸς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάθαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῷ Δαρεῖος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἶπας ἐν Πέρσησι ἔπος. ὄρμημένου Δαρείου ῥοιὰς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ῥοιέων, εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρταβανὸς ὅ τι βούλοιτ' ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι δοσοι ἐν τῇ ῥοῇ κόκκον. Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαθάζους ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπῆκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι ταῦτα μνεῖπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν

came to it at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great terror lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

141. There was with Darius an Egyptian, whose voice was the loudest in the world; Darius bade this man stand on the Ister bank and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and obeyed the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and made the bridge anew.

142. Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are regarded as free men they are the basest cravens in the world; but if they are to be reckoned as slaves, none would love their masters more, or less desire to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.

143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; thence he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving as his general in Europe Megabazus, a Persian, to whom he once did honour by saying among Persians what I here set down. Darius was about to eat pomegranates; and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him of what thing he would wish to have as many as there were seeds in his pomegranate; whereupon Darius said, that he would rather have that number of men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By thus speaking among Persians the king did honour to Megabazus; and

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ὑπελιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τὴς στρατιῆς τῆς  
έωντοῦ ὁκτὼ μυριάδας.

144. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος  
ἔλιπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων.  
γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἐπτακαΐδεκα  
ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώ-  
ρην Βυζαντίων, πιθόμενος δὲ ἐφη Καλχηδονίους  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἔοντας τυφλούς· οὐ  
γὰρ ἀν τοῦ καλλίστος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώρου  
τὸν αἰσχίσταν ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. οὗτος  
δὴ ὧν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν  
τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας  
κατεστρέφετο.

145. Οὗτος μέν νυν ταῦτα ἐπρησσε. τὸν αὐ-  
τὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος  
στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ  
ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. τῶν  
ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες ἔξελα-  
σθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληισα-  
μένων τὰς Ἀθηναῖς γυναικας, ὑπὸ τούτων ἔξε-  
λασθέντες ἐκ Λῆμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακε-  
δαιμονια, ιζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηνύγετῷ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον.  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἐπεμπον πευσό-  
μενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὄκόθεν εἰσί· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ  
εἰρωτῶντι ἐλεγον ὡς εἶησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες  
δὲ εἰεν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἥρωων, προσ-  
σχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λῆμνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας.  
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς  
γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον  
εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἥκουεν τε ἐς τὴν χώρην καὶ  
πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν  
ἐκβληθέντες ἥκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας δικαιότατον

now he left him behind as his general, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

144. This Megabazus is for ever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for his saying—when, being at Byzantium, he was told that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs—that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind; for had they not been so, they would never have chosen the meaner site for their city when they might have had the fairer. This Megabazus, being now left as general in the country, subdued all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians.

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,

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γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἄμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοῖ. μᾶλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγε σφέας ὥστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλίη ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμου ἦγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

146. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληίης μετατέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὥν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἔρκτήν. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ ὥν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρίσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναικες τῶν Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητίων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἔρκτήν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἑωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οἱ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐσῆλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε πᾶσαν τὴν εἰχον ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικηίην ἐσθῆτα ἄτε γυναικες ἐξήισαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἵζοντο αὐτις ἐς τὸ Τημύετον.

147. Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θῆρας ὁ

as (they said) was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their father's people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae<sup>1</sup> on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their so consenting was that the Tyndaridae<sup>2</sup> had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146. But in no long time these Minyae waxed over-proud, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other impious things; wherefore the Lacedaemonians resolved to slay them, and they seized and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were native to the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, not suspecting that the women would deal craftily with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae donned the female dress and so passed out in the guise of women, and having thus escaped once more encamped on Taygetum.

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

<sup>1</sup> As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaean gulf.

<sup>2</sup> Castor and Polydeuces.

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Λύτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμεροῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐών Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῦτοι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ Εύρυσθένει καὶ Προκλέτι. ἔόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων σηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἥσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θήρη καλεομένῃ νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοινικοῦ. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνορος Εύρωπην διξήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν τοῦ Θήρην καλεομένην προσσχόντι δὲ εἴτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρη ἥρεσε, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἥθελησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτη ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἰωντοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλιάρον. οὕτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἡ Θήραν ἀλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίου, ὅκτω ἀνδρῶν.

148. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἔξελῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηεύμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἔρκτῆς ἤζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηνύγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅκως μήτε φόνος γένηται, οὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἔξαξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γυνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρους ἀπογόνους

a descendant of Polynices, through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion) was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of the lineage of Cadmus and an uncle on the mother's side of Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not brook to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would abide no longer in Lacedaemon but sail away to his kinsfolk. There were in the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, descendants of Membrilius the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor, in his search for Europa, had put in at the place now called Thera; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired so to do, he left in this island, among other Phoenicians, his own kinsman Membrilius. These dwelt in the island Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taygetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three thirty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membrilius, taking with him

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ἔπλωσε, οὗτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἔξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης σφέας αὐτοὺς ἡξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἐπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίξας Πύργον Ἐπιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἡλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἵ ἐπωνυμίῃ ἐγένετο.

149. 'Ο δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν διν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὔνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καὶ κιν τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Λίγεύς, ἐπ' οὐ Αἴγειδαι καλέονται φυλὴ μεγάλῃ ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ιδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαίου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν<sup>1</sup>. . . . τώντο τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

150. Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὥδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρῦνος ὁ Αἰσανίου ἐὼν Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νησου ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατόμβην εἶποντο δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος

<sup>1</sup> Something is obviously lost, συνέβη δὲ or the like.

<sup>1</sup> These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "sheep-wolf."

not all the Minyae but a few only; for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Caucones, whom having driven out of the country they divided themselves into six companies and founded in the land they had won the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, Nodium;<sup>1</sup> most of which were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist.

149. But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father therefore said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the stripling got the nickname of Oeolyceus,<sup>2</sup> and it so fell out that this became his customary name. He had a son born to him, Aegeus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up, by the instruction of an oracle, a temple of the avenging spirits of Laius and Oedipus,<sup>3</sup> after which the children lived. Thus it fared also with the children of the Aegidae at Thera.

150. Thus far in my story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest we have only the word of the Theraeans. Grinnus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing an hecatomb from his city; there came with him, among others of his

<sup>1</sup> Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.

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ό Πολυμηνήστου, ἐών γένος Εύφημίδης τῶν Μιν-  
υέων. χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίννῳ τῷ βασιλέι τῶν  
Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν  
Λιβύῃ πόλιν. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἐγὼ μὲν  
ῶναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἥδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀεί-  
ρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε  
ταῦτα ποιέειν.” ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε  
ἔς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ  
ἀπέλθόντες ἀλογίην εἰχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε  
Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς  
ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

151. Ἐπτὰ δὲ ἑτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὁτε τὴν  
Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ  
νήσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἔξαινάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι  
Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀπο-  
κίην. ἐπείτε δὲ κακοῦ σύδεν ἦν σφι μῆχος, πέμ-  
πουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἰς τις  
Κρητῶν ἡ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην.  
περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὔτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς  
Ἴτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πορφυρέᾳ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Κορώβιος, δις ἔφη ὑπ’  
ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ  
Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νῆσον. μισθῷ δὲ τοῦτον  
πείσαντες ἥγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἐπλεον  
κατάσκοποι ἀνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοὶ κατη-  
γησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορώβιου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην  
δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι,  
σιτία καταλιπόντες δσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ  
ἐπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι  
περὶ τῆς νῆσου.

152. Ἀποδημεάντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον  
τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα.

people, Battus son of Polymnestus, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera inquired of the oracle concerning other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Nay, Lord," answered Grinnus, "I am grown old and heavy to stir; do thou lay this command on some one of these younger men," pointing as he spoke to Battus. No more was then said. But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal.

151. Then for seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya. So since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there who had travelled to Libya. These, in their journeys about the island, came to the town of Itanus, where they met a fisher of murex called Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven out of his course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea.<sup>1</sup> This man they hired to come with them to Thera; thence but a few men were first sent on shipboard to spy out the land, who, being guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, left him there with provision for some months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

152. But when they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provision

<sup>1</sup> The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.

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μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηὶς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλεχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερισσαντες ἀπίκουντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκηρατον τούτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὅπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετά γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινῆτην τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἴλα τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἔξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα ἐποιήσαντο χαλκίου κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοι εἰσὶ· καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἐπαπήχεας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρημεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρίθησαν.

153. Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπείτε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκουντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὡς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἕαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν ὑπάντων ἐπτὰ ἔονταν ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἥγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὴ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

154. Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα

left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whereof the captain was Colaeus, was driven out of her course to Platea, where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provision for a year; they then put out to sea from the island and would have voyaged to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and ceased not till they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came (by heaven's providence) to Tartessus. Now this was at that time a virgin<sup>1</sup> port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie. The Samians took six talents, the tenth part of their profit, and made therewith a bronze vessel, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all round; this they set up in their temple of Here, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each seven cubits high. This that the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera.

153. As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had founded a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea.

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

<sup>1</sup> That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; cp. L. 163.

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τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἡδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γάρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι Θηραίοισι· λέγουσι γάρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὀαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμίγτορι τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναικα. ή δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἑδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητριὴ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ο δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανάτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. ἦν γάρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ὀαξῷ τούτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἔξορκοῖ η μέν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὅ τι ἀν δεηθῇ. ἐπείτε δὴ ἔξώρκωσε, ἀγαγάνων οἱ παραδίδοι τὴν ἔωστοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ο δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε· παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποστεύμενος τὴν ἔξօρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτέαρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

155. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περισόντος ἔξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἴσχόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὔνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὡς Θηραῖοί τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι· Βάττος δὲ μετωνο-

begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not till now, for the Cyrenaeans tell a wholly different tale of Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He had a motherless daughter called Phronime, but he must needs marry another wife too. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be in very deed a stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was overpersuaded by his wife and devised a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and took an oath of him that he would do him whatever service he desired; which done, he gave the man his own daughter, bidding him take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being so tricked with the oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently he took the girl and sailed away, and that he might duly fulfil the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her about with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently came to Thera.

155. There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time there was born to him a son of weak and stammering speech, to whom he gave the name Battus,<sup>1</sup> as the Theraeans and Cyrenaeans say; but to my thinking the boy was given some other name, and changed it

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Stammerer.

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μάσθη, ἐπείτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπό τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἶνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῆ γλώσσῃ, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἡνδρώθη οὗτος, ἡλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἐπειρωτῶντι δέ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ<sup>τ</sup>, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἡλθεε· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος

Ἀπόλλων

ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα,

ῶσπερ εἴ εἴποι Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη ““Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἡλθες.” ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖς ιδε. ““Οναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἡλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφ δυνάμι, κοιη χειρί;” ταῦτα λέγων οὐκὶ ἐπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζε οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἴχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπῶν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότων ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἐπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροιστε πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι

to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle given to him at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

"Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev'n  
Phoebus Apollo,  
Sends thee to found thee a home in Libya, the  
country of sheepfolds,"

even as though she said to him, using our word, "O King, thou askest a voice." But he made answer: "Lord, I came to thee to enquire concerning my speech; but thy answer is of other matters, things impossible of performance; thou biddest me plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get me the power or might of hand for it?" Thus spoke Battus, but the god not being won to give him another oracle and ever answering as before, he departed while the priestess yet spake, and went away to Thera.

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently

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ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὅπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὅπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευνον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὅπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύη κειμένην, τῇ οὔνομα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἵση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

157. Ταύτην οἰκέουτες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλεπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔχρεωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρῆστειν οἰκεῦντες. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶτάδε.

αἱ τὸ ἔμεν Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον,  
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλωον ὅπίσω· οὐ γάρ δή σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νῆσου τῷ οὔνομα ἦν "Αξιρίς" τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφότερα συγκλητίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158. Τοῦτον οἴκεον τὸν χῶρον ἔξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφέας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίθινες ὡς ἐς ἄμεινονα χῶρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. ἥγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίθινες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἴνα διεξιώντες οἱ "Ελληνες μὴ ἰδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρῆγον. ἐστὶ

not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera. There the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back; which under stress of necessity they did, and planted a colony in an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

157. Here they dwelt for two years; but as all went wrong with them, leaving there one of themselves the rest voyaged to Delphi, and on their coming enquired of the oracle, and said that they were dwelling in Libya, but that they were none the better off for that. Then the priestess gave them this reply :

"I have seen Libya's pastures: thine eyes have never beheld them.  
Knowest them better than I? then wondrous indeed is thy wisdom."

Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not suffer them to do aught short of colonising Libya itself; and having come to the island and taken again him whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, over against the island which was called Aziris. This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, and a river flows by one side of it.

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa,

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δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὔνομα Ἰρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἴπαν "Αὐδρες Ἑλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτῆδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται."

159. Ἐπὶ μέν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ξόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἑκκαΐδεκα ἔτεα, οἵκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔστες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἔς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, "Ἑλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρίσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα.

οὗ δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἱ ποκα φαμὶ μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὄμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἱα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Λίγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέᾳ. ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Λίγυπτίων πολλὸν ἐπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασα χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Λίγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. ἀτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Λίγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρ-

lest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them : " Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell ; for here is a hole in the sky." <sup>1</sup>

159. Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for sixteen, the dwellers in Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone forth to the colony. But in the time of the third ruler, that Battus who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess admonished all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and dwell in Libya with the Cyrenaeans ; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a distribution of land ; and this was the oracle :

" Whoso delayeth to go till the fields be fully divided

To the fair Libyan land, that man shall surely repent it."

So a great multitude gathered together at Cyrene, and cut off great tracts of land from the territory of the neighbouring Libyans. Then these with their king, whose name was Adieran, being robbed of their lands and violently entreated by the Cyrenaeans, sent to Egypt and put themselves in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. Apries mustered a great host of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene ; the Cyrenaeans marched out to the place Irasa and the spring Thestes, and there battled with the Egyptians and overcame them ; for the Egyptians had as yet had no experience of Greeks, and

<sup>1</sup> That is, there is abundance of rain.

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ησαν οὗτω ὥστε ὄλιγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν  
ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα  
ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίη ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

160. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλεως· ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἔωντοῦ ἀδελφοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς δὲ μην οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἔωντῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἡ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλέεται κτίζοντες δὲ ἡμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἰοίους τῶν Λιβύων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἶπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὖν ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὥστε ἐπτακισχιλίους ὄπλιτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμιοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀλίαρχος ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλίαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἐρυξώ.

161. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλός τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβούσαν συμφορὴν ἐπεμπονέσθαι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους δοντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἀν οἰκέοιεν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ὡγαγέσθαι. αἵτεον ὡν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δημωναξ.

despised their enemy; whereby they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. For this mishap, and because they blamed Apries for it, the Egyptians revolted from him.<sup>1</sup>

160. This Battus had a son Arcessilaus; he at his first coming to reign quarrelled with his own brothers, till they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arcessilaus came with an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and these fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arcessilaus followed their flight until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they joined battle and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean men-at-arms were there slain. After this disaster Arcessilaus, being sick and having drunk medicine, was strangled by his brother Haliarchus; Haliarchus was craftily slain by Arcessilaus' wife Eryxo.

161. Arcessilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm on his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in the affliction that had befallen them, sent to Delphi to enquire what ordering of their state should best give them prosperity; the priestess bade them bring a peacemaker from Mantinea in Arcadia. The Cyrenaeans then sending their request, the Mantineans gave them their most esteemed townsman, whose

<sup>1</sup> In 570 B.C.; *cp. ii. 161.*

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οὗτος ὁν ὡνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἔκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῇδε διαθείσ· Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλέι Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἔξελὼν καὶ ἵρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἰχον οἱ βασιλίες ἐς μέσον τῷ δῆμῳ ἔθηκε.

162. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὗτω διετέλεε ἐόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ οἱ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαυτινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἄλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἐσσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τούτου τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον ἐὸν ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κεέται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τούτου ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἡ κατάξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιὴν οἱ ἐδίδου· ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἴραι, καλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένη στρατιὴν. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἐλεγε, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσεον καὶ ἥλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἵριον ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὐτὶς τῆς Φερετίμης τώτῳ ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοισι γυναικας δωρέεσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιῆ.

163. Ο δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τούτου τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν

name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learnt all, he divided the people into three tribes;<sup>1</sup> of which divisions the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; moreover he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but gave all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, to be now held by the people in common.

162. During the life of this Battus aforesaid these ordinances held good, but in the time of his son Arcesilaus there arose much contention concerning the king's rights. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogative of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was worsted and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him Pheretime came, asking him for an army which should bring her and her son back to Cyrene; but Evelthon being willing to give her all else, only not an army, when she took what he gave her she said that this was well, but it were better to give her an army at her request. This she would still say, whatever was the gift; at the last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool therewith; and Pheretime uttering the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

<sup>1</sup> According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.

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ἐν Σάμῳ συνίγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. “Ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίνης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἡσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἡν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὔρῃς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἔξοπτήσῃς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὐρον<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ ἔξοπτήσῃς τὴν κάμινον,<sup>2</sup> μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέαις καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων.” ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεῳ χρᾷ.

164. “Ο δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντήιον οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἴτε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος οἱ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρου ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. τούτους μέν τινας Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἴδιωτικὸν ὅλην περιιήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ’ ἔξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὑρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἔξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἐκῶν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. εἰχε δὲ γυναικα

<sup>1</sup> Omit τὴν κάμινον as gloss: M. J. E. Powell.

ing all men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus mustering, he made a journey to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle concerning his return. The priestess gave him this answer: "For the lives of four named Battus and four named Arcesilaus, to wit, for eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he counsels you not so much as to essay. But thou, return to thy country and dwell there in peace. But if thou findest the oven full of earthen pots, bake not the pots, but let them go unscathed. And if thou bakest them in the oven, go not into the sea-girt place; for if thou dost, then shalt thou thyself be slain, and the bull too that is fairest of the herd." This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus.

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be

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συγγενέα ἔωντοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθούτες ἀγοράζουσα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μέν νυν εἴτε ἕκὼν εἴτε ἕκεινον ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἔωντοῦ.

165. Η δὲ μῆτηρ Φερετίμη, ἥσει μὲν ὁ Αρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἔωντῷ κακόν, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τάλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα· ἐπείτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἥσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Αρκεσίλεως εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου πεποιημέναι· οὗτος γάρ ἦν ὁ Αρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Αρνάνδεω ἵκετις ἤζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἔωντῇ κελεύοντα, προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθνηκε.

166. Ο δὲ Αρνάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἴγυπτου ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω κατεστεώς, ὃς ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη· πιθόμενος γάρ καὶ ίδὼν Δαρείον ἐπιθυμέοντα μυημόσινον ἔωντοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἴη βασιλέι κατεργασμένον, ἐμμέετο τοῦτον, ἐς οὐ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθὸν. Δαρείος μὲν γάρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, Αρνάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἴγυπτου ἀργύριον τῶντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Αρνανδικόν. μαθὼν δέ μι

Cyrene. Now his wife was his own kinswoman, daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcessilaus betook himself to Alazir; but men of Barce and certain of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and slew him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law likewise. So Arcessilaus whether with or without intent missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

165. As long as Arcessilaus, after working his own destruction, was living at Barce, his mother Pheretime held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. But when she learnt of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape away to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcessilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcessilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. So on her coming to Egypt Pheretime made supplication to Aryandes, demanding that he should avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes.

166. This Aryandes had been appointed by Cambyses viceroy of Egypt; at a later day he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave such a memorial of himself as no king had ever wrought, Aryandes imitated him, till he got his reward; for Darius had coined money out of gold refined to an extreme purity,<sup>1</sup> and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a like silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandie. But when

<sup>1</sup> The gold coins called *δαρεῖαι* are said to contain only 3 per cent. of alloy.

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Δαρείος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἵτινι οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας ὡς οἱ ἐπανίσταιτο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἔξ Αἰγύπτου ἄπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ "Αιαστιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἔοντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιὴν, ὁ Ἀρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βιρκην κήρυκα ἐπυρθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βιρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέστειλε ἄμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. αὗτη μέν νυν αἵτινη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγίνετο, ἀπεπέμπτετο δὲ ἡ στρατιὴ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῆ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἔστι, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν δλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου<sup>1</sup> οὐδέν.

168. Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοίκηνται, οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἷην περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναικες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἐκατέρη τῶν κυημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον· τας κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς ἐωστῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει. οὗτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλέι μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι· η δὲ ἀν τῷ βασιλέι ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρῆκουσι

<sup>1</sup> [Δαρείου] Stein.

Darius heard that Aryandes was so doing, he put him to death, not on this plea but as a rebel.

167. At this time Aryandes, of whom I speak, took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae admiral of the fleet. But before despatching the host Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to enquire who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; which when he heard, Aryandes then sent his armament with Pheretime. This was the alleged pretext; but, as I myself think, the armament was sent to subdue Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of divers kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects the greater part cared nothing for Darius.

168. Now as concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that dwell nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian usages for the most part, but wear a dress like that of other Libyans. Their women wear bronze torques on both legs; their hair is long; they catch each her own lice, then bite and throw them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and that show the king all virgins that are to be wedded; the king takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases

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δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ οὔνομα Πλυνός ἔστι.

169. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώρην<sup>1</sup> μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ<sup>2</sup> ἡ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικεέται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμήν ἔστι καὶ Ἄζιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἰκεον, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατεᾶς νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νομοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἑτέροισι.

170. Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσται· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσται· τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων.

171. Αὐσχιστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αύσχισται· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, διλύγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

172. Αὐσχιστέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμῶνες, ἔθνος ἐὸν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ πρόβατα ἀναβαίνουσι ἐς Αὔγιλα χῶρον ὅπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασι, πάντες ἔόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους

him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the harbour called Plynus.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island Aphrodisias ; ere this is reached the island Platea, which the Cyrenaeans colonised, lies off the coast, and on the mainland is the haven called Menelius, and that Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here begins the country of silphium, which reaches from the island Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its usages.

170. The next people westward of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the sea-coast ; for that is Cyrenaean territory. These are drivers of four-horse chariots to a greater extent than any other Libyans ; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean usages.

171. Next westward of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the sea-coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae dwells the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaeum country ; their usages are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172. Next westward of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees which grow there in great abundance, and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which when taken they

<sup>1</sup> [χώρη] Stein.

<sup>2</sup> [χώρη] Stein.

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έπεὰν θηρεύσασι, αὐήναυτες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίουσι. γυναικας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μῖξιν ποιεῦνται τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρώτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἄνδρὸς υόμος ἐστὶ τὴν οὔμφην συκτῆ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος οἱ μιχθῆ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἀν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἰκου. ὄρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιῆδε· ὅμινοις μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται τὸ δ' ἀν ἰδη ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται. πίστισι δὲ τοιῆσιδε χρέωνται· ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου πίνει· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσι ὑγρὸν μηδέν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμᾶθεν σποδοῦ λαβούντες λείχουσι.

173. Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἔξαπολώλασι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἔξηγήνε, ἢ δὲ χώρη σφι ἅπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἦν ἄνυδρος· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπειτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ Ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἔξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώρην οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

174. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῇ θηριάδει οἰκέονται Γαράμαντες, οἱ πάντα ἀνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὄμιλίην, καὶ οὕτε

dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and so drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, in like manner as among the Massagetae; a staff is planted before the dwelling and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones first weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed to have been the most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles. They give and receive pledges by drinking each from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid they take of the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this wise: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying within the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. Taking counsel together they marched southward (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country.

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no

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δπλον ἔκτεαται ἀρήμον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται.

175. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Μάκαι, οἵ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησι ἐστί, ἐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης Ψιλῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἔχόμενοι Γινδᾶρες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναικες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιανδε τι, ὡς λέγεται κατ' ἄνδρα ἐκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· η δὲ ἀν πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὗτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα.

177. Ἀκτῆν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μοῦνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἴνοι.

178. Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλιες, τῷ λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἡσσόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὖνομα Τρίτων

weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175. These dwell inland of the Nasamones; the neighbouring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; they carry in war bucklers made of ostrich skins. The river Cinyps flows into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya whereof I have spoken is bare of trees; it is two hundred furlongs distant from the sea.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leathern anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears most is reputed the best, because she has been loved by most men.

177. There is a headland jutting out to sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it dwell the Lotus-eaters, whose only fare is the lotus.<sup>1</sup> The lotus fruit is of the bigness of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the lotus-eaters not only eat it but make wine of it.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the people aforesaid. Their country reaches to a great river

<sup>1</sup> The fruit of the *Rhamnus Lotus*, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."

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έστι· ἔκδιδοι δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔνι τῇ οὔνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. 'Ιήσονα, ἐπείτε οἱ ἔξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἡ Ἀργώ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλάνειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλομενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ μν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔξαγωγὴν λόγος ἔστι φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελεύειν τὸν 'Ιήσονα ἔωστῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπίμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ 'Ιήσονος, οὗτῳ δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνά σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῶναι ἐν τῷ ἔωστοῦ ἵρῳ, ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν 'Ιήσονι σημήναντα τὸν παντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκήσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἐλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὔστεες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλιες πέριξ την Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δέ σφι οὔριζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλιες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὔστεες τὰ ἐμπροσθε. ὅρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα

called Triton,<sup>1</sup> which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

179. The following story is also told :—Jason (it is said) when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put therein besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set forth to sail round Peloponnesus, that he might come to Delphi. But when in his course he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he could spy land he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while yet he could find no way out, Triton (so goes the story) appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising so to show the shipmen the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did his bidding, and Triton then showed them the passage out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: to wit, that when any descendant of the Argo's crew should take away the tripod, then needs must a hundred Greek cities be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Auseans; these and the Machlyes, divided by the Triton, dwell on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear the hair of their heads long behind, the Auseans in front. They make a yearly

<sup>1</sup> The "Triton" legend may arise from the Argonauts' finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (*cp. 180*) with Athene, one of whose epithets was *Tritoyissa* (whatever that means).

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διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἄλλήλας λίθοισι τε καὶ  
ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενέι θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια  
ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ  
ἀποθινησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων  
ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς  
μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῆ<sup>1</sup> παρθένον τὴν  
καλλιστεύονταν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε  
Κορινθίη καὶ πανοπλίη Ἐλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα  
ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ.  
ότεοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκοσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν  
ἡ σφὶ Ἐλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν,  
δοκέω δὲ ὃν Αἴγυπτοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι  
αὐτάς ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἴγυπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ  
κράνος φημὶ ἀπίχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἐλληνας. τὴν δὲ  
Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ  
τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι  
τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἐώστην τῷ Διὶ, τὸν δὲ Δία ἐώντοῦ  
μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι,  
μῆξιν δὲ ἐπίκουνον τῶν γυναικῶν ποιέονται, οὐτε  
συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ  
γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτῶσι  
ἐς τώπτὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἀν οἰκῇ  
τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραβαλάσσοι τῶν νομάδων  
Λιβύων εἰρέαται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ  
θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος  
ὁφρύη ψάμμης κατήκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θη-  
βέων τῶν Αἴγυπτιέων ἐπ' Ἡρακλέας στήλας. ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-

festival to Athene, whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after the manner of their ancestors that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman's child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man's to whom it is most like.

181. I have now told of all the nomad Libyans that dwell on the sea-coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts' land there runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles.<sup>1</sup> At intervals of about ten

fable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.

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δὲ τῇ ὁφρύῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὕδοι ἀλός ἐστι τρυφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖσι, καὶ ἐν κορυφῆσι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἀλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὕδοι Ἀμμωνίοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἵρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ<sup>1</sup> ἐν Θήβησι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διός τῶν γαλμα ἐστί. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἔόν, τὸ τὸν μὲν δρυθρὸν γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυούστης ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρίη τε ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἀρδουσὶ τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὖ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἵδη ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ηῶ. ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αὗτῇ ἡ κρίνη καλέεται ἥλιον.

182. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὁφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὕδοι κολωνός τε ἀλός ἐστι ὅμοιος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χωρῷ τούτῳ οὔνομα Αύγιλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αύγιλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὕδοι ἔτερος ἀλὸς κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατά περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἑτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> [τὸ] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.

days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hillocks; on the top of every hillock a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men dwell round it who are farthest away towards the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from that place, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have before said, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines the coldness abates, till at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter till midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler till dawn. This spring is called the spring of the sun.

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hillock of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men dwell; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones are wont to come to gather palm-fruit.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;

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τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἵσχυρῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὗτοι σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριγκούντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὅπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὅπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσί. τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἷοί τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρῖψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἴθιοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἴθιοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄφις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν· γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγαστι κατά πέρ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

184. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἄλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλλος ἄλλος τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώπων περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλέστι μὲν γάρ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὗτοι τῷ ἥλιῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασῶνται καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβεται, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δι' ἄλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἄλλος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώπων περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλλος τούτου ὄρος τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ

men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotus-eaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and harder to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding high curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape

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"Ατλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερὲς πάντη,  
ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὔτω δή τι λέγεται ώς τας κορυφας  
αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἰά τε εἶναι ίδεσθαι οὐδέκοτε γὰρ  
αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χει-  
μῶνος. τούτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι  
οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄν-  
θρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ  
δὴ "Ατλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν  
σιτίεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὄραν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν τούτων ἔχω  
τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὄφρύῃ κατοικημένων  
καταλέξαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διῆκει δὲ  
ὅν ἡ ὄφρύη μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ  
ἔξω τουτέων. ἔστι δὲ ἀλλος τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ  
διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες.  
τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων  
οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦδη τῆς Λιβύης  
ἄνομθρα ἔστι· οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἥδυνέατο μένειν οἱ  
τοῖχοι ἔόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὑε. ὁ δὲ ἀλς αὐτόθι καὶ  
λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὄρυσσεται. ὑπὲρ  
δὲ τῆς ὄφρύης τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν  
τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ  
ἄνομθρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἔστι ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἵκμάδος  
ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186. Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης  
ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρευφάγοι τε καὶ  
γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὕτι  
γενόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὃς οὐ  
τρέφοντες. βοῶν μέν νυν θηλέων οὐδὲν αἱ Κυρη-  
ναίων γυναικες δικαιεῦσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν  
Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ηστηίας αὐτῷ καὶ

whereof is slender and a complete circle ; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it every ten days' journey, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt ; for even these are parts of Libya where no rain falls ; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt there is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless ; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests ; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk ; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows ; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt ; nay, they even honour her with fasts and

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όρτας ἐπιτελέουσι· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναικες οὐδὲ ὑῶν πρὸς τῆσι βουσὶ γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεῦντες οἶόν τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἔώθασι ποιέειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων ν μάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἴπειν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἷσπῃ προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷσι κροτάφοισι, τοῦδε εἶνεκα ὡς μή σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηρότατους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δὲ οὐ εἰσὶ. ἦν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἔξεύρηται σφι ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὔρον σπείσαντες ῥύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

188. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἵδε· ἐπεὰν τοῦ ὡτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμουν, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίφ καὶ σελήνη μούνοισι. τούτοισι μέν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρίτῳ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωντι.

189. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἄγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων

festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads' manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they turn back the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan

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ἐποιήσαντο οἱ<sup>1</sup> Ἑλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ή δτὶ σκυτίνη  
 ή ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ  
 τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆσι οὐκ ὄφιες εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἴμάνται,  
 τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τώντο ἔσταλται. καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει δτὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἦκει η  
 στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλ-  
 λονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ  
 Λιβυσσαὶ κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
 αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ<sup>1</sup> Ἑλληνες μετωνόμασαν.  
 δοκέει δὲ ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἰροῦσι ἐνθαῦτα  
 πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται  
 καλῶς αἱ Λιβυσσαὶ. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευ-  
 γίναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ<sup>1</sup> Ἑλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νο-  
 μάδες κατά περ οἱ<sup>1</sup> Ἑλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων·  
 οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες,  
 ἐπεὰν ἀπιῇ τὴν ψυχὴν, δκως μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ  
 ὑπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἔξ  
 ἀνθερίκων ἐνειρμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ  
 ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοισι οὗτοι  
 χρέωνται.

191. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ  
 Λύσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἥδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας  
 νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὔνομα κέεται Μάξυες·  
 οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δὲ ἐπ'  
 ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ.  
 φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. η δὲ

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<sup>1</sup> The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas, which later was represented as a breast-plate. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.

women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goatskin corselets are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasseled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these goatskins into their "aegis."<sup>1</sup> Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant<sup>2</sup> first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodel-stalks<sup>3</sup> twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Aseans begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes: they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermillion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest

<sup>1</sup> The ὁλολυγή (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).

<sup>2</sup> Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer's "asphodel meadow" is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.

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χώρη αὗτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῷ θηριώδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὄρεινή τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ υπερμεγάθεες καὶ οἱ λεόντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ δνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθει πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάψευστα.

102. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ δνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἀποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν τὰ κέρεα τοῖσι φοινιξι οἱ πήχεες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστι), καὶ βαστάρια καὶ ὕαιναι καὶ ὑστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶνες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυνες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχεες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιες μικροὶ, κέρας ἐν ἔκαστος ἔχοντες· ταῦτα τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τά περ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὃς ἄγριον ἐλαφος δὲ καὶ ὃς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἐστι. μιῶν δὲ γένεα τριξὰ αὐτόθι ἐστί· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν

of the western part of Libya is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding mountainous and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes and the lions, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, white-rumped antelopes, gazelles, hartebeest, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called "undrinking" (for indeed they never drink), the oryx, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys, jackals, panthers, the borys, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild boar; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed,<sup>1</sup> the "zegeriēs" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

<sup>1</sup> The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)

<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the jerboa.

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βουνοῖ), οἱ δὲ ἔχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίῃσι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἡ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅστον ἡμεῖς ἴστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἔξικέσθαι.

193. Μαξύμων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναικες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐν τὸν πόλεμον.

194. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργαζονται, πολλῷ δὲ τι πλέον λέγεται δημιοεργοὺς ἄνδρας ποιέειν. μιλτοῦνται δὲ ὃν πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι· οἱ δὲ σφι ἀφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὅρεσι γίνονται.

195. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγονται Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὔνομα εἴναι Κύρανιν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεινήν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστὴν καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἴναι, ἐκ τῆς αἱ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὄρυζθων κεχρυμένοισι πίσση ἐκ τῆς Ἰλύος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δὲ ὃν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὑδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὄφων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δὲ ὃν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομῆ κοντα ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἔστι· ἐξ ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες καὶ ἐπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὅδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὄφωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεὰν δὲ

and the bristly-haired, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauekes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermillion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

<sup>1</sup> *ep.* vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.

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ἀθροίσωσι συχνήν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὅ τι δ' ἀν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆς ἵὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἣ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὥν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νῆσου τῆς ἐπὶ Διβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἔστι ἀληθείη.

196. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἔξελωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν οἱ οὖν τοῦ θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἔξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνηται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελομενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὅπιστος ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὐ ἀν πειθωσι. ἀδικέειν δὲ οὐδετέρους· οὗτε γάρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπτεσθαι πρὸν ἀν σφι ἀπισωθῆ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τῶν φορτίων, οὕτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἀπτεσθαι πρότερον ἡ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λαίβωσι.

197. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβυῶν δινομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφροτιζον οὐδέν. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, δτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἔθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὖ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἴθιοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οἱ δὲ

much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place in Libya, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly along the beach they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the

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τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

198. Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἡ Λιβύη σπουδαίη ὥστε ἡ Ἀσίη ἡ Εὐρώπη παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γάρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὖνομα ἡ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὗτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῇ ἀρίστῃ γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔνικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ. μελάγγαιος τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιδρος πίδαξι, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὔτε ὅμβρου πλέω πιοῦσα δεδηληται· νεται γάρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ γῆ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερίται νέμονται ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίγυπτι ἐπὶ τριηκόσια.

199. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναΐη χώρη, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γάρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὄργα ἀμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὄργα συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βαυνοὶς καλέουσι· συγκεκομισταὶ τε οὕτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπέρτατῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὄργα, ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρώτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὀπώρη ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200. Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Αἴγυπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρσάνδεω ἀπέκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν πόλιν

south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most an hundred-fold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaeans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Aryandes from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce,<sup>1</sup> they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

<sup>1</sup> The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.

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ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λογους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑννέα, ὅρυσσοντές τε ὄρυγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν νῦν ὄρυγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὃδε ἐπιφρασθείσ· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσῖσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὄρυσσόμενα ἥχεεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δὲ ἀν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἡσσον τῶν Περσέων, Ἄμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἴσχυρὸν οὐκ αἴρετοι εἰεν, δόλῳ δὲ αἴρετοι, ποιέει τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὄρυξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἴσόπεδον. ἀμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς δὲ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίη χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμιοντες ὄρκια, ἔστ' ἀν ἡ γῆ αὗτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλέι καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον Βαρκαῖοι

those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus : but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging under ground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a brazen shield, and this is how he found them : carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city ; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsmen.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (not less of the Persians than of their foes) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile : he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented ; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus : standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged ; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the townsmen, trusting in it and opening all their

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μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοισι αὐτοὶ τε ἐξήισαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριένται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρίξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἐσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἷνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ δρκιον δσον ἀν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε είχε· καταρρίξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμεινε τὸ δρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

202. Τοὺς μέν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος, τῶν δέ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων ληίην ἐκέλενε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν δοσοι αὐτῶν ἥσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς ὅν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήισαν ὥπισσω· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάρδης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ταυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἴρεειν τὴν πόλιν, "Αμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γάρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐν δὲ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ιζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου δχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρώντο τὸ δεύτερον παριένται ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φύβος ἐνέ-

gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls : but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaean, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was ; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaean, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall ; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaean, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder ; to these she committed the governance of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaean, and departed homewards. When they appeared before the city of Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city ; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus ; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they

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πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἔξήκοντα σταδια  
ἴζοντο· ἵδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἥλθε  
παρὰ Ἀρυάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ  
δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι  
ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν  
Αἴγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς  
Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εῖνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς  
ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευον,  
ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης  
έκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὔεσπερίδας ἥλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδρα-  
ποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλίᾳ,  
βασιλεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίης  
χώρης κώμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ  
οὔνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν  
οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέ-  
πλεξε. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισα-  
μένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον,  
ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ξῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέζεσε, ὡς  
ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ισχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς  
θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται· ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης  
τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη  
ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there encamped; and presently while they were there a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding them return. The Persians asked and obtained of the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for the sake of their garments and possessions; till at last they came to Egypt.

204. This Persian armament advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no good ending of her life. For immediately after she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem, are the gods with over-violent human vengeance. Such, and so great, was the vengeance which Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the people of Baree.



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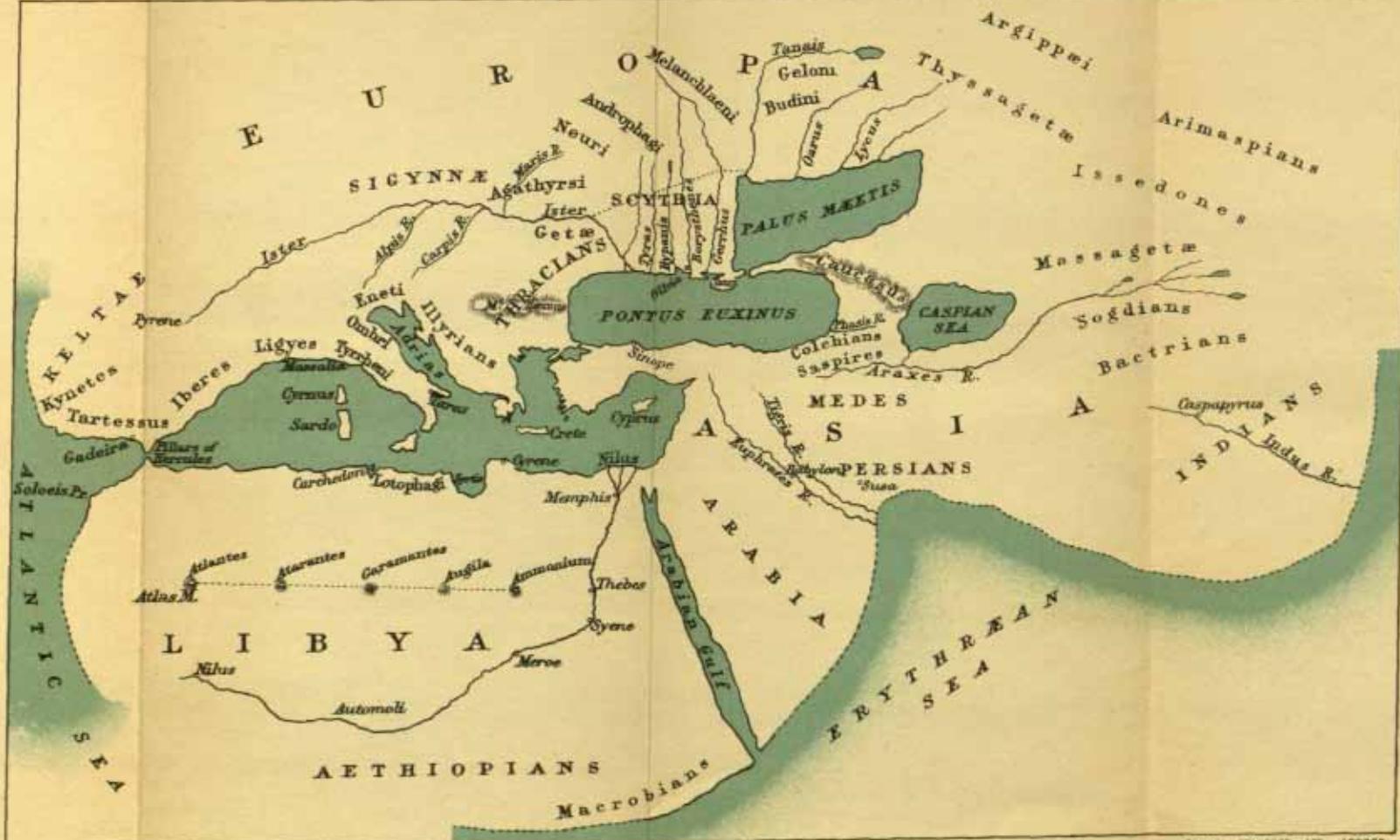
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